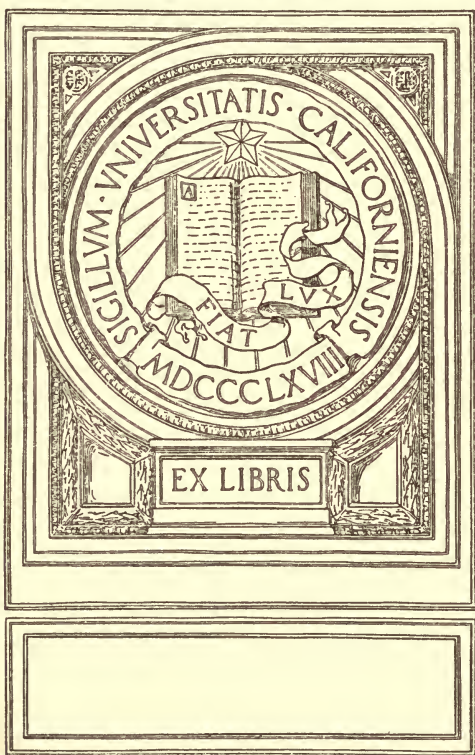
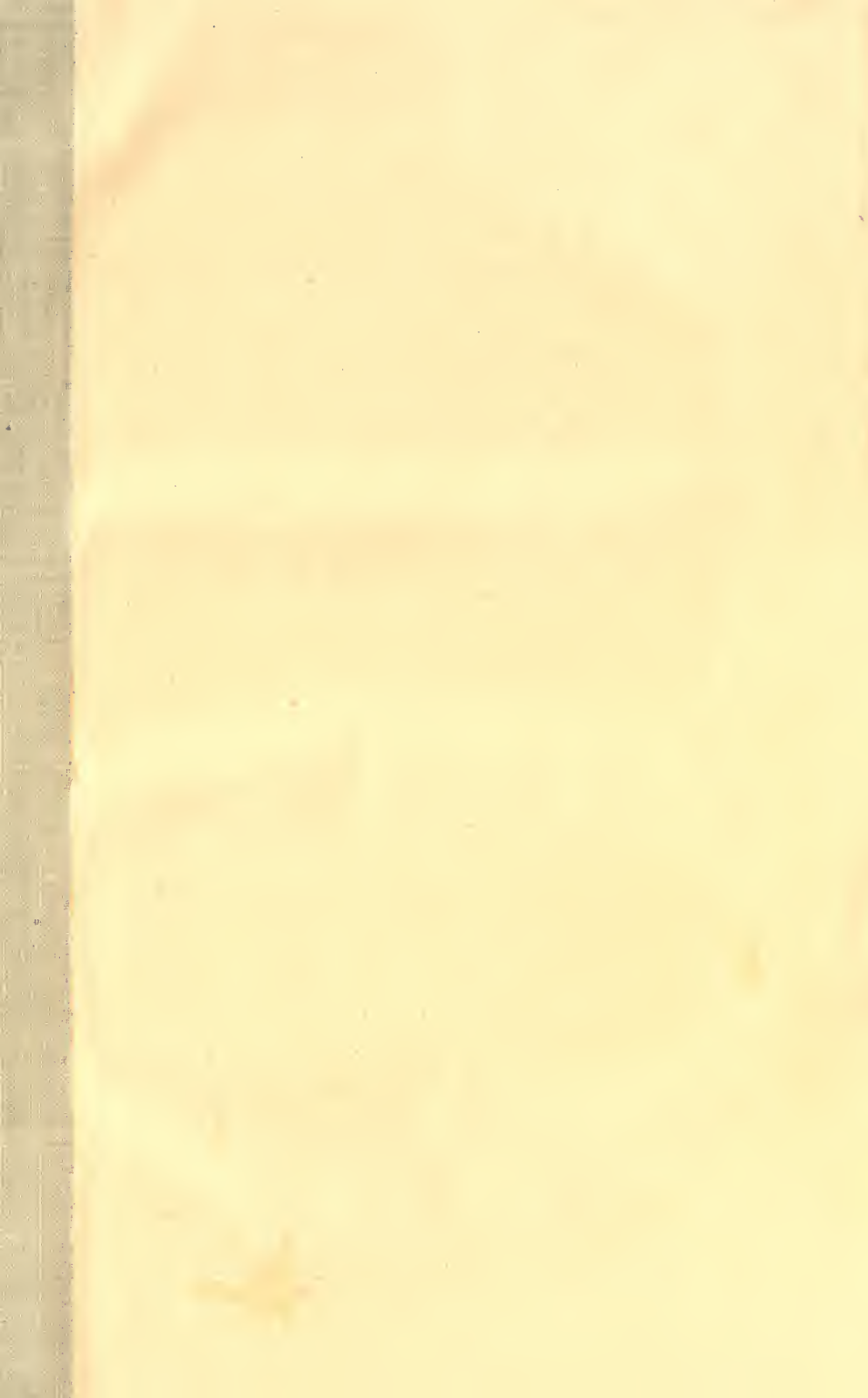


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HISTORICAL NOTICES

OF THE

MISSIONS OF THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND

IN THE

North American Colonies,

PREVIOUS TO THE INDEPENDENCE OF THE UNITED STATES:

CHIEFLY FROM THE MS. DOCUMENTS OF THE

SOCIETY FOR THE PROPAGATION OF THE GOSPEL
IN FOREIGN PARTS.

BY

ERNEST HAWKINS, B.D.

FELLOW OF EXETER COLLEGE,

PREBENDARY OF ST. PAUL'S, AND SECRETARY TO THE SOCIETY FOR THE
PROPAGATION OF THE GOSPEL.

"She stretched out her branches unto the sea, and her boughs unto
the river."—Ps. LXXX. 11.

LONDON:

B. FELLOWES, LUDGATE STREET.

1845.

gift of Mr. Frank Marchant

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R. CLAY, PRINTER, BREAD STREET HILL.

TO THE
BISHOPS, PRIESTS, AND DEACONS

OF THAT APOSTOLIC CHURCH

IN THE
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA,

WHICH HAS SO GRATEFULLY ACKNOWLEDGED HERSELF

TO BE "INDEBTED, UNDER GOD," TO THE

CHURCH OF ENGLAND

"FOR HER FIRST FOUNDATION, AND A LONG CONTINUANCE OF

NURSING CARE AND PROTECTION,"

These Historical Notices

ARE RESPECTFULLY AND AFFECTIONATELY INSCRIBED,

IN THE EARNEST DESIRE

THAT THE MOTHER AND DAUGHTER CHURCHES

MAY EVER REMAIN INSEPARABLY KNIT TOGETHER

IN ONE COMMUNION AND FELLOWSHIP,

TO THE INCREASE OF BROTHERLY LOVE,

AND THE EDIFYING OF THE BODY OF CHRIST.

PREFACE.

IF it must be admitted that the Church of England is not rich in Missionary annals, there can be no difficulty in accounting for the deficiency.

For more than a century after the Reformation, our Church was so much engaged in maintaining its position against the pretensions and intrigues of Rome, as to have little opportunity for making aggressions on Heathenism. Then came the Civil War, in which the National Church itself was put under an interdict; and when this tyranny was overpast, a flood of licentiousness came in with the Restoration; and the shock which was thus given to religion by a reaction from the austerity of one period to the excesses of another, may serve to account for that spirit of indifference so general in this country at the period of the Revolution, a spirit which continued to prevail, more or less, till the commencement of the present century. These were serious obstacles in the way of Missionary enterprise. Nevertheless, the Church was not unmindful of her duty in this parti-

cular. At the very commencement of the eighteenth century, a Society was organised for the purpose of providing the ministrations of religion for our countrymen in the Colonies, and of bringing the surrounding Heathen to a knowledge of the truth. Through this Society, incorporated by Royal Charter, and directed by the whole body of Bishops, the Church, for nearly one hundred and fifty years, has conducted one main part of its Missionary operations. The principal field of those operations during the last century were the North American Colonies (with the exception of Virginia and Maryland, where the Church was endowed); and the design of the present Volume is to give a general outline of the rise and progress of the Church in those parts. It has no pretension to the character of a complete history: that is reserved for an abler hand; and those who are anxious for further information than is to be found in the vigorous and animated sketch of the Bishop of Oxford,¹ may be confidently referred to the larger work which has been promised the world, by one whose name will secure it attention, and whose qualifications for the undertaking are evidenced by the extensive and accurate research which mark the Volume already published.²

Still the details here supplied may not be without

¹ History of the Protestant Episcopal Church in America, by Samuel Wilberforce.

² History of the Church of England in the Colonies and Foreign Dependencies of the British Empire, by the Rev. James S. M. Anderson, M.A. London, 1845;

their use or interest ; for they supply lessons both of warning and instruction. They warn us of the guilt and danger of allowing new Settlements to be planted without any adequate provision for their spiritual wants ; and they teach us that the fellowship of the Church is the strongest tie between the Mother Country and her Colonies. At all events, they will not have been collected in vain, if they direct the attention of any to the exceeding importance of laying well the foundation of future empires, by basing it on the unchanging principles of Christian faith and holiness.

Such principles, deeply impressed upon the minds of the first Colonists in a new country, will be transmitted to successive generations ; and it is only necessary to remember how rapidly population increases in a young Settlement, to give to this consideration all the weight that it deserves.

At the time when the Church established its first Mission on the shores of New England in 1702, the total population of the North American Colonies may be computed at 250,000¹—at the Declaration of Independence it was about 3,000,000—it amounts now to 17,000,000 ; and should the same ratio of increase continue (of which there seems no reason to doubt) it will, in one more century, be between *two and three hundred millions*, who will all, more or less, bear the impression which has been stamped upon them by their fathers, the founders of the several Colonies.

¹ See page 23.

Whatever be cast into the soil of a new country, be it good seed or tares, will take root, and spring up with an abundant harvest; and this is a truth which no country was ever so bound to understand and act upon as England. Our Colonies in every part of the world are fast growing into great nations; and upon ourselves—the Church and realm of England—it depends to mould their institutions, and fix their principles. Happily the members of our Church are daily becoming more alive to this great responsibility. They see, in the diffusion of our language, the extension of our commerce, the vastness of our Colonial empire, and the wonderful facilities for reaching the most distant parts of it, a Providential call to avail themselves of such unexampled opportunities for the furtherance of the Gospel. The more thoughtful, surely, must see in the fact that all this power and influence have been given to England, rather than to Italy, or France, or Spain, an indication of God's gracious purpose to make the Church of this country a chosen instrument for bringing Heathen nations within the fold of His blessed Son. May He who hath so freely bestowed these talents, give to our Church and nation the grace to use them as a wise and faithful steward!

The following "Notices" will show that the Church of England was not barren of good works during the last century. In many a lone settlement on the Continent and in the Islands of America, she had the

privilege of being the first to plant the Cross of Christ ; nor has she any cause to be ashamed of the roll of her Missionary names. Not to mention HUNT and WHITAKER, of whom little is known but their high purpose and devoted zeal, the memory of THOMAS BRAY must ever be had in honour. He freely devoted himself and his fortune to the promotion of God's glory, and seldom has any one been privileged to perform services more extensive or more lasting. The name of BERKELEY is second to none in the honoured list of Missionaries. In natural endowments, and in the accomplishments of science and literature, he stands pre-eminent, and few have ever given up so much to follow their Heavenly Master. Though all must lament that his noble designs were frustrated, none will be disposed to ask, "For what purpose was this waste?" save those who are incapable of appreciating the high moral importance of such an example as that of Bishop Berkeley.

The Church that can boast many such must have a well-filled quiver ; but the reader will not fail to recognise in KEITH, and TALBOT, and JOHNSON, in CLEMENT HALL and JOHN BEACH, in Bishops SEABURY and INGLIS, many of the same qualifications which have distinguished the devoted servants of God in every age of the Gospel. The early Missionaries in North America laboured single-handed amid manifold difficulties, and did all that men so situated could accomplish. In later times, the Church in the Colonies has

obtained a more perfect organization, while the resources of the mother country have been largely increased. As, therefore, more has been given, more will be required than in times past. In every direction there is a cry for help. Not only are thousands of our poorest countrymen in the Colonies destitute of the means of grace, and entire Provinces without the blessing of Episcopal government, but multitudes of the Heathen in our vast Indian empire are, by manifest tokens, showing a readiness to learn the way of God more perfectly.

Here, then, is a work of surpassing importance committed to the hands of our Church; and, may we not reverently conjecture, committed to her as being the most faithful depository of revealed truth? It is surely no undiscerning partiality to regard our own mother Church of England as occupying a position of advantage, both for the defence and for the propagation of the Gospel. In the old world it may probably, ere long, become an ark of safety for those who can find no sure footing amid the developments of a subtle theology and the pretensions of unauthorized human systems. Assuredly, too, the same Church is specially called to impart the gifts she has received—her pure doctrine and her Apostolic ordinances—to Heathen lands and newly-settled Colonies. To this call she is becoming daily more awake; and the following “Notices” have been compiled, not without the hope that the record of what was done in one department

of Missionary labour by our forefathers, may help to arouse us to more zealous and combined efforts.

It is right to say, that a large portion of the present Volume has already appeared in the pages of the "British Magazine," from which it was regularly adopted into two, if not more, of the ablest and most influential Journals of North America.¹ Much, however, has been since added, and the whole has been arranged in more convenient order. Without making any idle apologies for the faults and imperfections which may be found either in the plan or in the execution of the work, the author desires simply to state in explanation, that his book was written not to supersede any other work on the subject, but because no other existed. The "Historical Account of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel," by Dr. Humphreys, contains indeed a useful summary of the operations of the Missionaries in the North American Colonies during the early part of the last century; but there the history ends. A valuable compilation of a different kind, consisting principally of extracts from the Anniversary Sermons preached before the same Society, and arranged under appropriate heads, was published in 1819, under the title of "Propaganda," and contributed to make the past and then present condition of the Church in the Colonies better known. This Work is the more deserving of honourable mention as

¹ "The Church" newspaper, Cobourg, Canada West; and the "Banner of the Cross," New York.

it was compiled by the late Rev. Josiah Pratt, at a time when, as holding a prominent official position in another Society, his whole attention might have been supposed to be engrossed in the furtherance of its special designs. The "Propaganda," however, is not a regular or continuous history. Something, therefore, in the way of a more connected narrative seemed to be required. The position of the Author gave him access to a large mass of original letters from the Missionaries in America; and he thought that an examination of them, with a view to the publication of the more material parts, might be not altogether an unprofitable employment for his leisure. In this manner he gleaned the facts which are now submitted to the Reader; and he will be abundantly compensated for the labour which the Volume has cost him, if, by diffusing more accurate information on the subject of our earlier Missions, it shall tend, in any degree, to awaken a livelier sense of our obligation, as a Church and nation, not only to maintain the ordinances of religion among our distant brethren in the Colonies, but to fulfil the commandment of our Blessed Lord, as far as it may be permitted to us, by making known His Gospel in all lands.

79, PALL MALL,
November 15th, 1845.

CONTENTS.

CHAPTER I.

	PAGE
Duty of the Mother Country to its Colonies—Gift of Sir Walter Raleigh—Hariot—Hakluyt—Virginia Company, 1606—Robert Hunt—Mr. Bucke—Alexander Whitaker—Nicholas Ferrar—King's Letter for a General Collection—Provision for Virginian Clergy—Church Laws—College—New Plymouth Settlement—Cromwell's Ordinance—Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in New England—Robert Boyle—John Eliot—Translation of the Bible into the Indian Language—Ministrations to the Indians—Sir Leolyne Jenkyns—Endowment of two Fellowships at Jesus College, Oxford—Maryland—Pennsylvania—The Church and the Sects in America—First Church built at Boston—Allowance of King Charles II. to Missionaries—Division of Maryland into Parishes—Dr. Bray Commissary—Charter granted to the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts	1

CHAPTER II.

Object of the Society two-fold: 1. Spiritual Provision for British Settlers. 2. Propagation of the Gospel among the surrounding Heathen—First Meeting—Election of Treasurers and Secretary—Colonel Morris's Memorial—Colonel Dudley's Account of Religion in the Plantations in North America—George Keith—Letter about the state of Quakerism in North America—Rev. Patrick Gordon—Rev. John Talbot—Their Voyage to Boston—Mr. Gordon's Death

and Character—Missionary Tour of Keith and Talbot—Talbot's Letter to Mr. Richard Gillingham—His Report of the Church and of the various Sects—Mr. Keith's Narrative—Applications to the Society for Missionaries—Public Notice given by the Society—Qualifications of Candidates—Character of Missionaries	18
--	----

CHAPTER III.

SOUTH CAROLINA.

Original Settlement—Charter—Code of Laws—First Church—Rev. A. Williamson—Rev. S. Marshall—Rev. S. Thomas—Dr. Le Jau—Witchcraft—Slaves—Small-pox—Rev. Mr. Merry—Rev. Mr. Ludlam—Rev. Robert Maule—Mr. Maule's Death and Character—Rev. Gideon Johnstone, Commissary—His Death—Indian War—Liberality of the Society—Rev. Alexander Garden—Rev. Thomas Hasell—Rev. Lewis Jones—Rev. William Guy—Rev. Charles Martyn—Rev. Robert Baron—Rev. James Harrison—Mr. Garden's Resignation and Character—Ecclesiastical Discipline—Whitfield—Services of the Society in the North American Colonies	47
--	----

CHAPTER IV.

NORTH CAROLINA.

General Account of the Province—Commissary Blair—Classification of the People—Mr. Henderson Walker—Rev. John Urmston—Governor Eden—Rev. Giles Rainsford—Rev. W. Gordon and Rev. J. Adams—Rev. Thos. Newnam—Rev. John Boyd—Rev. James Moir—Rev. Clement Hall—His great Labours and Success—Rev. Alex. Stewart—Want of a Bishop—Rev. N. Christian	64
---	----

CHAPTER V.

GEORGIA.

Foundation of the Colony—The Salzburg Emigrants—Rev. John Wesley—His strict Observances—Catechising—Expenses for one Year—Appeal to the Commissary—South Carolina Clergy—Performs Service in French, Italian, and German—His Sunday's Occupation—Reason for leaving Georgia—Embarks for England—	
--	--

Passes Whitfield in the Downs—Whitfield's Preaching in America—His Orphan House—Rev. W. Morris—Rev. Mr. Zouberbugler—Rev. Jonathan Copp—Province divided into Parishes—Rev. Samuel Frink—Rev. Edward Ellington—Takes charge of the Orphan House—Want of Churches—Gross Ignorance of the Settlers—Want of a Bishop—Ecclesiastical Returns of Savannah	90
--	----

CHAPTER VI.

PENNSYLVANIA.

First Settlement—Rev. Mr. Clayton—Rev. Evan Evans—His Report of the State of the Church—Rev. John Clubb—Memorial for a Bishop—Rev. Robert Weyman—Rev. Thomas Crawford—Rev. George Ross—Rev. William Beckett—Rev. Hugh Neill—Loss of Messrs. Wilson and Giles at sea—Rev. Dr. Smith—Rev. Thomas Barton—Mission of Huntingdon—Scheme for the Conversion of the Indians—Variety of Sects—Proposed Conformity of Lutherans and Calvinists—Progress of Fanaticism—Marlborough—Outbreak of the Indians—Mr. Barton refuses the Oath of Allegiance—Retires from his Mission	106
---	-----

CHAPTER VII.

NEW JERSEY.

First Settlement—Origin of Name—Rev. John Talbot—Governor Nicholson—Lillingston recommended as Bishop—Talbot's exertions to obtain a Bishop—His Second Visit to England—Accused of Jacobitism—His Retirement—Goes back to America—Charge of Disaffection—Consecrated by Non-juring Bishops—His Death and Character—Rev. John Brooke—Rev. Edward Vaughan—Rev. Colin Campbell—Rev. Thos. Thompson—Rev. M. Houdin—Rev. T. B. Chandler—Commencement of the Civil Troubles—Chandler's Publications—Embarrassments of the Missionaries—Chandler withdraws to England—Rev. Isaac Browne—Rev. John Mackean	141
--	-----

CHAPTER VIII.

NEW ENGLAND.

RHODE ISLAND AND CONNECTICUT.

Rev. James Honyman—Difficulties under which the early Missionaries laboured—Rev. George Pigot—Dean Berkeley—His project of a College at Bermuda—His return, and disposal of the Fund raised	
---	--

for the College—Yale College—Cutler, Browne, and Johnson— Their conforming to the Church—Go to England for Ordination— Are admitted to Degrees at Oxford and Cambridge—Death of Mr. Browne—Return of Dr. Cutler and Mr. Johnson—Dr. Cutler takes charge of the Mission of Boston—Disorders produced by Whitfield's Preaching—Testimony to Dr. Cutler's Literary and Scientific Attainments—His Death—Rev. Samuel Johnson— Account of the Mission of Stratford—Candidates recommended for Orders—Want of Church Education—Mr. Johnson receives the Honorary Degree of D.D. from Oxford—Elected President of King's College, New York—Returns to Stratford—His Death and Character	165
---	-----

CHAPTER IX.

CONNECTICUT.

Average number of New England Missionaries—Rev. John Beach— Mission of Newtown and Reading—Steady increase of his Congre- gations—Controversy with the Independent Ministers—Mr. Sande- man propagates Antinomian views—Want of Clergy—And of a Bishop to ordain—Extension of the Church by Emigration to other Settlements—Mr. Beach's long service—His Death and Character	200
--	-----

CHAPTER X.

NEW ENGLAND.

CONNECTICUT—RHODE ISLAND—MASSACHUSETTS.

Rev. Roger Price—Enumeration of Churches in New England— Number of Bishops and Clergy in 1844—Mission of Hebron— Loss of Missionaries—Rev. Peter Bours—Rev. Edward Bass—Mis- sion of Salem—Rev. C. Brockwell—Whitfield and his Followers— Rev. J. Macsparran—Rev. S. Palmer—Rev. Mr. Macclenaghan— Rev. John Graves—Rev. W. Macgilchrist—Rev. E. Thompson— Allotment of Glebes—Endowments—Rev. Jacob Bailey—Rev. E. Punderson—Opposition of Dissenters—Rev. E. Winslow—Convoca- tion at Boston—Rev. Richard Mansfield—Vast extent of his Mis- sion—Rev. Alexander Murray—Neglect of the Sacraments—Rev. John Tyler—Rev. Samuel Peters—Missionary Tour—Rev. E. Dib- blee—Rev. Bela Hubbard—Political Troubles—Rev. M. Browne—

	PAGE
Dispersion of the Clergy—Rev. Dr. Caner—Rev. J. W. Weeks—Rev. Mather Byles—Death and Character of Mr. Thompson—Letter of Colonel Peters—State of New England Churches—Rev. R. Cossit	216

CHAPTER XI.

EARLY MISSIONS TO THE INDIANS AND NEGROES.

State of Religion among the Indians in New England—Memorials of the Earl of Bellamont and Mr. Livingstone—Appointment of the Rev. Thoroughgood Moor—Mission unsuccessful—Embassy of four Sachems to England—Rev. William Andrews—Habits of the Indians—Instruction of the Negroes—Mr. Elias Neau—Rev. R. Charlton—Rev. S. Auchmuty	259
--	-----

CHAPTER XII.

NEW YORK.

First Discovery by Hudson—And Settlement by the Dutch—Captured by the English in 1664—Area—Present Population and number of Clergy—First Church and Clergyman—Rev. W. Vesey—Rev. John Bartow—M. Bondet—M. Stoupe—Rev. H. Barclay—Rev. G. Muirson—Rev. John Miln—Mr. Barclay, Jun.—Rev. John Ogilvie—The Mohawks—Mr. St. George Talbot—Convention at Ripton, Connecticut—Sir W. Johnson	274
--	-----

CHAPTER XIII.

NEW YORK.

Rev. Samuel Seabury, Father and Son—Rev. S. Seabury, Jun.—Report of Flushing—Of Jamaica—Effects of Quakerism—Loss of two Missionaries at Sea—Promotion of Mr. Seabury to West Chester—Political Troubles—Escape to Long Island—Persecution and Sufferings of the Missionaries—Rev. L. Babcock—Rev. Dr. Auchmuty—Rev. Leonard Cutting—Rev. P. Reading—Rev. John Sayre—Rev. Dr. Smith—Rev. S. Tingley—Rev. J. Leaming—Rev. John Stuart	294
--	-----

CHAPTER XIV.

NEW YORK.

	PAGE
Rev. Charles Inglis appointed to Dover Mission—Becomes Assistant to Dr. Auchmuty at New York—Urges the appointment of Bishops—Plan for Conversion of the Indians—Letter recounting the Progress of the Civil War and the Sufferings of the Clergy—Death of Dr. Auchmuty—Election of Mr. Inglis as Rector of Trinity—Treaty of 1783—Confiscation of Mr. Inglis's Property—He retires to Nova Scotia—Bishop of Oxford's Testimony to the conduct of the Missionaries—Address of the Clerical and Lay Deputies of the American Church	323

CHAPTER XV.

NEW FOUNDLAND.

Discovery—Name—Area—Its Fishery—Lord Bacon's Patent—Lord Baltimore's Settlement—Finally ceded to England—First Report—Rev. Mr. Jackson—Rev. Jacob Rice—Rev. R. Killpatrick—Rev. Henry Jones—Rev. Mr. Peaseley—Rev. Edward Langman—Rev. Lawrence Coughlan—Rev. James Balfour—Gift of William the Fourth	346
--	-----

CHAPTER XVI.

NOVA SCOTIA.

Ceded to Great Britain—Settlers sent out by Board of Trade—Grants to Clergymen and Schoolmasters—Rev. W. Tutty—Rev. M. Morcau—Rev. Mr. Burger—Rev. P. Bryzelius—Rev. R. Vincent—Rev. P. Delaroche—Scarcity and Distress—Rev. T. Wood—Visit to Indian Tribes—Rev. J. Bennet, Coast Missionary—Rev. W. Ellis—Rev. J. Eagleson—Difference of Language and of Forms of Worship—A public Seminary at Windsor recommended—Rev. John Breynton—Statistics of Halifax—Influx of Refugees from the States—Ejected Missionaries appointed to Nova Scotia—Bishop of Oxford's allusion to them	354
---	-----

CHAPTER XVII.

STRUGGLE FOR THE EPISCOPATE.

	PAGE
Design of Archbishop Laud—Of Clarendon—Appeals of Rev. John Talbot—Subject for Convocation—Efforts of the Society—Petition from the Colonies—Gift and Legacies for Endowment of Bishopricks—Rev. S. Johnson and New England Clergy—Rev. Mr. Colebatch designed for Consecration—Exertions of Bishop Seeker, Sherlock, Terriek—Drs. Johnson and Leaming—Rev. G. Craig—Bishops Ewer and Lowth—Exertions of Granville Sharp—Of Dr. George Berkeley—Dr. Seabury—His Consecration—Renewed efforts to obtain the Succession through the English Branch of the Church—American Prayer-Book—Election and Consecration of Bishops White and Provost—Of Bishop Inglis—Growth and Expansion of the Church	375✓

APPENDIX.

A.—Copy of the Charter of S. P. G..	415
B.—Extract from the Roll of Subscribers, 1701—1709.	422
C.—Instructions to Lord Cornbury, 1703	423
D.—Instructions to Missionaries	424
E.—Grant of Land to the first Missionaries in Nova Scotia, 1749 . .	425
F.—Table of American and Colonial Dioceses and Bishops	427
Concluding Notices	429
INDEX	435

HISTORICAL NOTICES,

&c.

CHAPTER I.

Duty of the Mother Country to its Colonies—Gift of Sir Walter Raleigh—Hariot—Hadkluyt—Virginia Company, 1606—Robert Hunt—Mr. Bucke—Alexander Whitaker—Nicholas Ferrar—King's Letter for a General Collection—Provision for Virginian Clergy—Church Laws—College—New Plymouth Settlement—Cromwell's Ordinance—Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in New England—Robert Boyle—John Eliot—Translation of the Bible into the Indian Language—Ministrations to the Indians—Sir Leolyne Jenkyns—Endowment of two Fellowships at Jesus College, Oxford—Maryland—Pennsylvania—The Church and the Sects in America—First Church built at Boston—Allowance of King Charles II. to Missionaries—Division of Maryland into Parishes—Dr. Bray Commissary—Charter granted to the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts.

It is satisfactory to know, that from the first formation of the British settlements in America, there has been, on the part of the mother country, a recognition, at least, of her twofold duty; first, to maintain the true faith among her own children, and, secondly, to propagate it among the surrounding heathen.

It would be inconsistent with the design of the present work to recount in detail the various efforts which were made, whether by corporations or by individuals, previous

to the commencement of the eighteenth century, for the introduction of Christianity into our colonies. Some few instances, however, may be given.

Sir Walter Raleigh, the father of English colonization, after the failure of his enterprise in Virginia, on assigning over his patent, in 1589, to a company of merchants, gave the sum of 100%. "in especial regard and zeal of planting the Christian religion in those barbarous countries, and for the advancement and preferment of the same, and the common utility and profit of the inhabitants."¹ His mathematical preceptor, Hariot, who at the instance of his patron accompanied the expedition of 1585, has some claim to be called the first English Missionary to the new world.

"Many times," says he, "and in euery towne where I came, according as I was able, I made declaration of the contents of the Bible, that therein was set foorth the true and onely God, and his mightie workes, that therein was contained the true doctrine of Saluation through Christ, with many particularities of miracles and chiefe points of Religion, as I was able then to vtter, and thought fit for the time. And although I told them the booke materially and of itselife was not of any such vertue, as I thought they did conceiue, but onely the doctrine therein contained: yet would many be glad to touch it, to embrace it, to kisse it, to hold it to their breastes and heads, and stroke ouer all their body with it, to show their hungry desire of that knowledge which was spoken of."²

Hakluyt,³ who has preserved the simple narrative of Hariot, together with so many other valuable records of maritime discovery and adventure, contributed materially by his writings to excite and sustain the spirit of enterprise

¹ Southey's *Lives of the Admirals*, vol. iv. p. 238.

² Hakluyt, vol. iii. p. 337.

³ Richard Hakluyt was Prebendary of Bristol and Westminster, and Rector of Wetheringsett, in Suffolk. Born 1553, died 1616.—*Biographia Britannica*.

and colonization which distinguished the reigns of Elizabeth and James I. His name occurs in both the charters which were granted by the latter monarch, in the years 1606 and 1609, to a Company for the improvement of trade and plantations in Virginia. A royal ordinance, which accompanied the charter of 1606, proves satisfactorily that the views of the King were not restricted to the mere commercial advantage of his subjects; for a special provision was made "that the true word and service of God be preached, planted, and used, not only in the colonies, but also, as much as might be, among the savages bordering upon them, and this according to the rites and doctrines of the Church of England."¹

Among those who signed the petition for this charter was one little known, but deserving of all honour, Robert Hunt, an English clergyman, whose Christian meekness, cheerfulness, and perseverance, under the severest trials, were a signal blessing to the colony. He seems to have joined the expedition with the single purpose of devoting himself to the religious interests of the new settlement; and, having put his hand to the plough, no difficulties or discouragements could tempt him to look back. "On the 19th December, 1606," says one of his companions, "wee set saile, but by vnprosperous winds were kept six weekes in the sight of England; all which time Mr. Hunt, our Preacher, was so weake and sicke that few expected his recouerie; yet, although hee were but ten or twelve miles from his habitation, (the time wee were in the Downes) and notwithstanding the stormy weather, nor the scandalous imputation (of some few little better than atheists, of the greatest ranke amongst us) suggested against him, all this could neuer force from him so much as a

¹ Hawks' Virginia, p. 19.

seeming desire to leaue the businesse, but preferred the seruice of God, in so good a voyage, before any affection, to contest with his godlesse foes, whose disastrous designes (could they haue preuailed) had euen then ouerthrowne the businesse, so many discontents did then arise, had he not, with the water of patience and his godly exhortations (but briefly by his true deuoted example) quenched those flames of enuy and dissension.”¹ His first object was the erection of a church; which was no sooner built, than, together with the town, it was destroyed by an accidental fire. The worthy pastor, however, whose own library had perished in the flames, never lost heart, but at once zealously set about the work of restoration, and ere long had the happiness of seeing the church restored, and *James-Town* rebuilt.

The next clergyman of whom we read in the early annals of Virginia, Mr. Bucke, went out as chaplain to a party of colonists who embarked, in 1609, under the command of Sir Thomas Gates and Sir George Somers. The ship in which he and the commanders sailed, was separated by a storm from the rest of the squadron, and wrecked on the Bermudas; but during their forced residence on those islands, Mr. Bucke was enabled to maintain the ministrations of religion, not only by the full services on the Sunday, but by daily morning and evening prayer, at which the names of the whole company were called over, and a penalty inflicted upon those who were absent.² After a stay of several months in Bermuda, having erected a cross to the honour of God, and in memory of their deliverance from the storm, the party again put to sea in two vessels, which had been constructed in part out of the beams and planks of the “*Sea Venture*.” This time they crossed the

¹ Purchas' Pilgrims, vol. iv. p. 1705.

² Ibid. p. 1746.

ocean without any disaster ; but were saddened by a melancholy prospect on their arrival in Virginia. The scene of their landing seems to be brought before our eyes by the following graphic description of an eye-witness :—"Wee plyed it sadly up the river, and the three-and-twentieth of May we cast anchor before James Towne, where we landed : and ovr much grieved Governour, first visiting the church, caused the bell to be rung, at which all such as were able to come forth of their houses repayred to church, where our minister, Master Bucke, made a zealous and sorrowfull prayer, finding all things so contrary to our expectations, so full of misery and misgovernment."¹ This was during that terrible crisis of suffering called "the starving time." Nothing, indeed, could exceed the distress of the colonists. Their number had been reduced in six months, by famine and pestilence, from five hundred to sixty ; and so utterly unprovided were they with the common necessities of life, that the Lieutenant-governor, Sir Thomas Gates, determined to abandon the settlement. All accordingly embarked, and on the 7th June, 1610, floated down the river with the tide,—"none dropping a tear, because none had enjoyed one day of happiness." On the following morning they descried, to their great joy, Lord Delawarr's squadron just arrived from England ; "on which," says the narrator, "our Governor bore up the helme, and that night, (the winde so favourable,) relanded all his men at the Fort again."²

Lord Delawarr signalized his first landing by a public act of devotion : having "caused his company in armes to stand in order, and make a guard, he fell upon his knees, and before vs all, made a long and silent prayer to himself, and after marched up into the Towne and passed on into

¹ Purchas, vol. iv. p. 1748.

² Ibid. p. 1752.

the chappell, where he heard a sermon by Master Bucke, our Governour's Preacher."¹

The second church in Virginia was built at Henrico, in 1611, and became the charge of the Rev. Alexander Whitaker, who enclosed a hundred acres of land, and built a parsonage. The following testimony to his high and self-denying character is from the pen of the Rev. W. Crashawe, a cotemporary, and Preacher at the Temple. "I hereby let all men know that a scholler, a graduate, a preacher, well borne and friended in England; not in debt nor disgrace, but competently provided for, and liked and beloved where he lived; not in want, but (for a scholler, and as these days be) rich in possession, and more in possibilitie; of himself, without any persuasion (but God's and his own heart) did voluntarily leave his warme nest, and to the wonder of his kindred and amazement of them that knew him, undertooke this hard, but, in my judgment, heroicall resolution to go to Virginia, and helpe to beare the name of God unto the Gentiles."²

This devoted servant of Christ, who well deserves the place which has been assigned to him among "the Apostles of Virginia,"³ was son of Dr. William Whitaker, Master of St. John's College, Cambridge, and went out, in 1611, with the expedition of Sir Thomas Dale. His letters breathe a noble spirit of self-devotion. In one of them, remarking upon the spiritual harvest to be reaped among the native Americans, and the apathy of his brethren at home, he thus speaks out of the fulness of his heart:—"I muse that so few of our English ministers that were so hot against the surplis and subscription come hither, where

¹ Purchas, vol. iv. p. 1754.

² Hawks' Virginia, p. 28.

³ Crashawe's Epistle Dedicatorie, quoted in Anderson's History of the Church in the Colonies, p. 203.

neither [are] spoken of. Doe they not either wilfully hide their tallents, or keep themselves at home, for feare of losing a few pleasures? Be there not any amongst them of Moses his minde, and of the Apostles, that forsooke all to follow Christ? But I referre them to the Judge of all hearts, and to the King, that shall reward every one according to the gaine of his tallent. But you, my cosen, hold fast that which you have, and I, though my promise of three yeeres service to my country be expired, will abide in my vocation here, untill I be lawfully called from hence. And so, betaking vs all unto the mercies of God in Jesus Christ, rest for euer."¹

It is pleasing also to remember, in connexion with this colony, that the saint-like Nicholas Ferrar was for several years, either as counsel or deputy-governor, the principal manager of the company; and the instructions which were sent out by him, from time to time, are said to have been equally remarkable for sound policy and high religious principle. On the dissolution of the company he paid over the sum of 300*l.*, which his father had bequeathed for the erection of a college in Virginia, to the governor and company of the Somers Islands (the Bermudas), binding them to have always under education three native Virginia children in those islands; and to put them out, when of fit age, to some proper business, or else to send them back to Virginia to convert their brethren.²

The king had already issued a letter to the Bishops, requiring a collection to be made for a like purpose in all parish churches, and contributions amounting to 4,000*l.* were raised. These facts serve to show that those who were first concerned in what Lord Bacon calls "the heroical

¹ Purchas, vol. iv. p. 1771.

² Life of Ferrar, in Wordsworth's Eccles. Biography, vol. v. p. 151.

work of plantations," had due regard to the promotion of God's honour in the sight both of their own people and of the Heathen.

As the first colonists of Virginia were exclusively members of the Church of England, the legislature of the colony decreed a provision for the clergy, at the rate of 1,500 pounds of tobacco and 16 barrels of flour annually for each clergyman. As each new borough was formed, it was ordered that a portion of glebe land should be set apart for the use of the incumbent. Tithes were afterwards instituted. Discipline was enforced by laws which, it must be admitted, were unjustifiably severe; and a peremptory enactment was passed, that none but ministers episcopally ordained should be allowed to officiate in the colony.¹

During the troubles which accompanied and followed the civil war, many of the cavaliers sought a refuge in Virginia; and this new emigration naturally tended to sustain the prevalent feeling of attachment to the church and the monarchy. At a period long subsequent, King William and Queen Mary formed the noble design of erecting and endowing a college in Virginia. A charter was given, with ample immunities and privileges, a public fund was allotted for the endowment, a president appointed, and the building commenced, but unfortunately it was destroyed by fire, and was never afterwards restored. About the same time the Rev. James Blair was sent out as ecclesiastical commissary of the province, and on this occasion Queen Mary gave a bounty of 200*l.* a-year for the support of missionaries.²

The history of the New Plymouth settlement, Massachusetts Bay, is well known. It was first formed by a small party of Puritans, in the winter of 1620, and con-

¹ Hawks' Virginia, p. 25.

² Humphreys' Hist. Account of the S. P. G. pp. 9—11.

siderably increased in 1629 by an influx of their brethren, who were discontented with the state of things at home. Indeed, the civil troubles in England were at that time the means of furnishing frequent supplies of new settlers to the Colonies; and it is said that among those who, in 1638, were on the point of abandoning their country for the enjoyment of unrestricted liberty in a new world, were Hampden, Haslerig, and Oliver Cromwell; but they were prevented from embarking by an order from the court.

But though Cromwell was reserved to play a more important part at home, it was natural that he should feel a deep interest in the country of the "Pilgrim Fathers." And we find that during his Protectorate, in the year 1649, an ordinance was passed for "the promoting and propagating of the gospel of Jesus Christ in New England by the erection of a corporation,¹ to be called by the name of the President and Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in New England, to receive and dispose of moneys for that purpose;" and a general collection was ordered to be made in all the parishes of England and Wales. With the proceeds of this collection the Society purchased an estate in land; and some progress is said to have been made in the conversion of natives, both on the Continent and in the West Indian Islands.

On the restoration of the monarchy the charter was renewed, through the influence of Mr. Ashurst and Richard Baxter with the Lord Chancellor Hyde, and the powers under it were enlarged; for now the corporation was styled, "The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in New England and the Parts adjacent in America."² Its object was defined to be, "not only to seek the

¹ Neal's Hist. of New England, vol. i. p. 260.

² Ibid. p. 261.

outward welfare and prosperity of those colonies, but more especially to endeavour the good and salvation of their immortal souls, and the publishing the most glorious gospel of Christ among them."

Clarendon is the first name on the list of the corporation, of which the Hon. Robert Boyle was appointed governor. It does not appear that any regular journal was kept of its proceedings; and it is therefore impossible to form an accurate estimate of the results which followed its establishment. The Missionaries seem for the most part to have been deprived clergymen of the Church of England; and, indeed, Neal names seventy who, being disturbed by the ecclesiastical courts for the cause of nonconformity, transported themselves to New England for the free exercise of their ministry before the year 1641. Among those mentioned are the celebrated John Eliot, and a very different person, Hugh Peters. The whole revenue of the corporation never exceeded 600*l.* a-year; and with this, according to the same authority, they maintained from twelve to sixteen missionaries—English and Indian—on salaries of from 10*l.* to 30*l.*; erected schools, and supplied them with books.

We learn, however, from some letters¹ addressed by Eliot, who has been surnamed "the Apostle of the Indians," to Mr. Boyle, that the governor sent over to him considerable sums of money, 400*l.* at one time, and 460*l.* at another, to enable him to complete his translation of the Bible into the Indian language. This work was finished, and many hundred copies of it circulated, in the year 1686. Mr. Boyle's own tract, "The Practice of Piety," was also translated for the use of the natives.

Printed in the Appendix to the Life of the Hon. Robert Boyle, prefixed to the 4th edit. of his works.

By Eliot's indefatigable exertions many companies of Indians in Massachussets, Plymouth, Martha's Vineyard, and Nantucket, had been so far instructed in the faith as to assemble themselves regularly every Sunday for common prayer and thanksgiving, and to be able "to practise and manage the whole instituted public worship of God among themselves, without the presence or inspection of any English among them."¹ It is impossible not to feel regret that the Church at home took no effectual measures to bring these promising converts within her fold, and to retain them for her own after their zealous pastor was called away.

Boyle, who had during his life-time devoted so much of his attention and of his wealth to the spiritual improvement of the native Americans, bequeathed at his death the sum of 100*l.* to the Society of which he had been governor, to be set aside and employed as stock for the relief of poor Indian converts. And, moreover, after settling an annual "salary for some learned divine to preach eight sermons every year for proving the Christian religion against notorious infidels; he requires that the said preacher shall be assisting to all companies, and encouraging them in any undertaking, for propagating the Christian religion in foreign parts."²

Another eminent instance of zeal for the Colonial Church shall be added. Sir Leolyne Jenkyns, in his last will, proved the 9th of Nov. 1685, provided that two additional fellowships be founded and endowed at his cost and charges in Jesus College, Oxford, on condition that the said two fellows respectively, and their respective successors for

¹ Letter to the Hon. Robert Boyle. 1684.

² Account of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel. 1706, p. 9.

ever, may be under an indispensable obligation to take upon them holy orders of priesthood, and afterward that they go out to sea in any of His Majesty's fleets, when they, or any of them, are thereto summoned by the Lord High Admiral of England; and in case there be no use of their service at sea, to be called by the Lord Bishop of London to go out into any of His Majesty's foreign plantations, there to take upon them the cure of souls, and exercise their ministerial functions, reserving to them their full salaries, with the further encouragement of 20*l.* a-year a-piece while they are actually in either of the services aforesaid."¹

It is much to be lamented that the colonies have hitherto derived little, if any, benefit from this noble endowment. The election, indeed, of one Fellow, namely, the Rev. Henry Nichols, B.A., in 1703, was formally notified by the Principal and Fellows of Jesus College, to the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel; and it appears that he was sent as a Missionary to Chester, in Pennsylvania. Since then, successive "scholars of King Charles II. and King James II." have been allowed, (by whose neglect it were useless to inquire,) to escape the responsibility attached to their foundation. It is, however, gratifying to be able to state that, within the last year, the Bishop of London,—whose exertions in behalf of the Church in the Colonies equal at least those of the most active of his predecessors,—having first ascertained that the Board of Admiralty had at present no intention of preferring their claim,—has given notice to the College, that he feels himself called upon to exercise the privilege accorded to him in the will of Sir L. Jenkins, of sending out the two Fellows elected

¹ The cause in Sir Leolyne's will, as far as it relates to these two fellowships, is quoted at length in the "Appendix to Journal," 84.

on his foundation, to some one or other of the foreign plantations.

As the manner in which the American States were first settled serves in a great degree to account for the comparatively slight hold which the Church has retained on them, it may be as well briefly to refer to the origin of two other plantations.

MARYLAND,—so called in honour of Henrietta Maria, consort of King Charles I., was first colonized by Lord Baltimore, a Roman Catholic, who, anxious to escape from the popular odium which attached to his communion, obtained from the king a grant of land on the two sides of Chesapeake Bay; and, accompanied by about 200 persons, mostly of good families, formed there a new settlement. An act of their assembly gave free and unlimited toleration for all who professed the Christian religion, and, in consequence, the colony, which was at first wholly Romanist, soon lost its exclusive character. Mr. Burke, speaking of the Church of England in Maryland, says, “Here the clergy are provided for in a much more liberal manner [than in Virginia], and they are the most decent and the best of the clergy in North America.”¹

PENNSYLVANIA,—originally colonized by the Dutch and the Swedes, was granted by charter to William Penn, in 1680, and became the new home of a sect which arose in the early part of the seventeenth century, commonly known by the name of “Friends,” or Quakers. This body, following the doctrine of their founder, George Fox, would admit neither of civil rank nor spiritual function. Their simple appeal was to the “inward light.” They had no regard for Authority, whether civil or ecclesiastical. Proclaiming

¹ It is assumed that Mr. Burke was the author of an “Account of the European Settlements in America.”

a universal toleration and the equality of all men, they attracted to their settlement persons of the most different and incompatible creeds, as well from Germany as from England.

Thus, then, of four important and extensive provinces peopled from our shores during the seventeenth century, three were settled by colonists hostile to the Church of England; Massachussets by Independents, Maryland by Romanists, and Pennsylvania by Quakers. No wonder, therefore, that America exhibits such a fearful preponderance of sectarianism. The fruit which has ripened is the natural produce of the seed which was sown. And while new societies were forming themselves on the other side of the Atlantic, what was the condition of our own communion in those countries? Not a single church existed in the whole of the New England settlements till the year 1679, when, upon an address from several of the inhabitants of Boston, the Lord Bishop of London (Dr. Compton) prevailed upon King Charles II. to give orders for the erection of one in that town, and King William III. was afterwards pleased to settle an annual bounty of 100*l.* for the endowment of it.

The same Bishop, finding by inquiry that there were not at that time more than four Episcopal clergymen in the whole continent of America, made proposals to the several colonies to furnish them with chaplains; and receiving from them encouragement, induced King Charles to allow to each clergyman or schoolmaster that should go over, the sum of 20*l.* for his passage. He procured also from his Majesty the gift of a Bible, a Prayer-book, a copy of Homilies, and of the Canons, for each parish, to the value, in all, of 1,200*l.* Soon after the erection of a church at Boston, another was built by the people at Rhode

Island, and “Colonel Fletcher, the Governor of New York, induced the Assembly to set out six churches, with allowances from forty to sixty pounds a-year for the maintenance of ministers.”¹

In the years 1691 and 1692, the Governor and Assembly of Maryland divided the province into parishes, established a legal maintenance for the respective ministers, and memorialized the Bishop of London to send them over some experienced clergyman as ecclesiastical commissary. The person selected for this honourable office was Dr. Bray, a man highly to be honoured, and to be had in lasting remembrance for his zealous and self-denying exertions in behalf of the Church, both at home and abroad. The appointment was made in 1696, and Dr. Bray at once set about the duties of his office, and directed his first attention to two important objects—the selection of well-qualified Missionaries, and the means of supplying them with theological libraries. A bill having been brought into Parliament, in 1697, to alienate lands given for superstitious uses, and vest them in Greenwich Hospital, he exerted himself very zealously to get a share of them vested in a body politic, to be erected for the propagation of the true Religion in the plantations. In this design, however, he was unsuccessful, as well as in an attempt at obtaining for the same use some arrears of taxes due to the Crown. In abandoning, therefore, all hope of success in obtaining any public grant, he applied himself to the arrangement of a plan for the establishment of a protestant congregation, *pro fide propagandâ*, by charter from the King; and though the time had not yet come for obtaining a deed of incorporation, he had influence enough to set on foot, in 1698, a voluntary association to carry on the

¹ Account of the S. P. G. 1706.

service already commenced in the colonies, and to promote Christian knowledge both at home and abroad.

Among other Missionaries employed at this time, Dr. Bray "procured and sent two men, as pious and happy in their conduct as could have been found; one, Mr. Clayton, sent to Philadelphia; the other, Mr. Marshall, sent to Charles Town. Neither found at his entrance above fifty of our communion to make up a congregation; and yet within two years the congregation at Philadelphia, the metropolis of the Quakers, was increased to 700, and that at Charles Town to near as many." A church, too, was built in each place. Both of these excellent missionaries died about two years after their arrival, of diseases caught in visiting the sick.¹

So disinterested was Dr. Bray in the acceptance of the office of Commissary, that he was actually compelled to sell his effects, and raise money on credit, to pay the expense of his voyage to America. He sailed in December, 1699, and reached Maryland in the following March; thus taking three months for a voyage which is now accomplished in little more than a fortnight. While there, he promoted in various ways the interests of the Church; and was ultimately induced to return home in order to gain the royal assent to a bill for its orderly constitution,—an object in which, by his perseverance and address, he happily succeeded. On his arrival in England, in 1700-1, he had the gratification of finding that the Association which he had been the chief instrument in founding, was very powerfully supported; and from the number of subscribers, and the amount of their benefactions, a different constitution and more extensive powers appeared necessary for the success of the undertaking.

¹ Public Spirit Illustrated in the Life and Designs of Dr. Bray. Lond. 1808.

A petition therefore was presented by Dr. Bray to King William III. for his Royal charter, and being supported by all the weight and influence of Archbishop Tenison and Bishop Compton, was graciously received by his Majesty. Letters patent under the great seal of England were granted for creating a corporation by the name of "The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts." The charter, a copy of which will be found in the Appendix,¹ bears date June 16, 1701.

¹ See Appendix A.

CHAPTER II.

Object of the Society two-fold : 1. Spiritual provision for British Settlers. 2. Propagation of the Gospel among the surrounding Heathen—First Meeting—Election of Treasurers and Secretary—Colonel Morris's Memorial—Colonel Dudley's Account of Religion in the Plantations in North America—George Keith—Letter about the state of Quakerism in North America—Rev. Patrick Gordon—Rev. John Talbot—Their Voyage to Boston—Mr. Gordon's Death and Character—Missionary Tour of Keith and Talbot—Talbot's Letter to Mr. Richard Gillingham—His Report of the Church and of the various Sects—Mr. Keith's Narrative—Applications to the Society for Missionaries—Public Notice given by the Society—Qualifications of Candidates—Character of Missionaries.

THUS a great step in the progress of the Church of England was taken. She now commenced an organized system for the maintenance of religion among her own emigrant children, and for the propagation of the Gospel among the surrounding heathen. The preamble of the Charter recites the twofold object for which it was granted, viz. *first*, to provide a maintenance for an orthodox clergy in the plantations, colonies, and factories of Great Britain beyond the seas, for the instruction of the King's loving subjects in the Christian religion; and, *secondly*, to make such other provision as was necessary for the *propagation* of the Gospel in those parts.

There can be no doubt, that the main object contemplated by the charter was the spiritual care and superintendence of our own emigrant settlers. They obviously, as being our countrymen, and "of the household of faith,"

had the strongest claim; but the comprehensive charity of such men as Archbishop Tenison, Bishop Compton, and Dr. Bray, looked out of this narrow circle to the world beyond it, and gladly seized the opportunity of sending the Gospel to the heathen, through the medium of our own people who had gone to dwell among them. This interpretation of the words of the charter is confirmed by the expressed cotemporary opinions of the most distinguished members of the Society. The Dean of Lincoln, (Dr. Willis,) who was selected to preach the first anniversary sermon, February 20, 1702, thus briefly explained the objects of the Society:—"The design is, in the first place, to settle the state of religion, as well as may be, among *our own people* there, which, by all accounts we have, very much wants their pious care; and then to proceed, in the best methods they can, toward the *conversion of the natives*." And among the demands on the Society's funds, he mentions the expense of "the breeding up of persons to understand the great variety of languages of those countries, in order to be able to *converse with the natives, and preach the Gospel to them*." Further on he adds: "Especially this may be a great charity to the souls of many of those *poor natives*, who may by this be converted from that state of barbarism and idolatry in which they now live, and be brought into the sheepfold of our blessed Saviour."¹

Bishop Burnet, who preached the following year, 1703, lays it down as the natural order of proceeding, that "*our designs upon aliens and infidels* must begin in the instructing and reforming our *own people*."²

But the early acts of the Society are a still better proof of the interpretation which it put upon the charter. The

¹ Dean Willis's Sermon before the S.P.G. pp. 17, 18.

² Sermon, p. 20.

following are extracts from the very first report,¹ drawn up in the year 1704:—

“ 1. That they might answer the main end of their Incorporation, they have actually commissioned two Missionaries at a very great expense, and are soliciting maintenance from the Crown for four more, who are at least wanting, for the *conversion of the Praying Indians of Canada*, whose souls we must be accountable for, if we neglect longer to instruct them in the faith of our blessed Redeemer, when God has so wonderfully opened their eyes, their hearts, and their very tongues, so as to call to us, as those of Macedonia did to the Apostle of the Gentiles, ‘Come over and help us.’

“ 2. Nor has the Society turned their thoughts only on the Indians in the northern parts of the English dominions, but has sent also one Missionary for the service of the *Yeomansee Indians* to the south of Carolina, who having been lately engaged in a war with the Spaniards, and every day in danger of an invasion from them, were not in a condition to receive instruction, nor was it thought fit by the Governours to trust him yet amongst them, but as soon as ’tis practicable to treat with them, there are assurances he shall leave the neighbourhood, where he is instructing many souls as much neglected as the former, the Negroes of Gooscreek.

“ 3. They have made suitable provision also for some of the [West Indian] islands, those too much neglected parts of Her Majesty’s territories, by a supply of two Ministers, without any charge to the people, and have otherwise supported eight more in the islands and on the continent, in such manner as has been requested.”

No sooner was the charter obtained, than the Society entered upon its duties. The first meeting was held on Friday, June 27, 1701, in the library of Archbishop Tenison, the President; and in the list of those who attended we find the names of the Bishop of London, (Compton,) the Bishop of Bangor, (Evans,) Chichester, (Williams,) and Gloucester, (Fowler;) Dr. White Kennett, (afterwards

¹ A fac-simile of this Report has been lately reprinted.

Bishop of Peterborough,) Dr. Stanhope, Dr. Bray, Sir John Chardin, Sir Richard Blackmore, Sir George Wheeler,¹ and Sergeant Hook.

Mr. Melmoth, author of the well-known tract entitled "The Great Importance of a Religious Life," and Mr. Hodges, were appointed Treasurers, and Mr. John Chamberlain, Secretary. A common seal was ordered, and a committee named to draw up the necessary standing orders and bye-laws. The next meeting was held on the 8th of July, at the Cock-Pit, Westminster, to receive the report on the standing orders, the first of which related to the prayers to be used by the Society before entering upon business; and the second, to the anniversary sermon. Other preliminary business was transacted at ensuing meetings. The members entered their names on a subscription roll,² specially prepared, copies of which, with a formal "authority or deputation,"³ were given to several persons of "figure and interest" in their respective counties, to collect subscriptions in aid of the Society's objects; and particular application was directed to be made to the "eminent bankers of the city of London—specially to such of them as traded in the plantations."

Many excellent and distinguished men were almost every month elected into the corporation, which, on the 21st November, had the high honour of adding to its list the names of Francis Nicholson, governor of Virginia, and Robert Nelson, author of the "Fasts and Festivals."

The first matter of importance, bearing immediately upon its missionary character, which the Society took in hand, was an inquiry into the state of religion in the North

¹ The founder of a chapel in Spitalfields, which for a long time bore his name, but which is properly styled St. Mary, Norton Folgate.

² See Appendix B.

³ Appendix to Journal.

American Settlements; and painful as were the allegations of the absence of all public worship, nay, even the abandonment of the people to "infidelity and atheism," recited in the preamble of the charter, they were fully supported by official reports from the colonies. At a meeting of the Society, on the 19th September, 1701, a memorial was read from Colonel Morris,¹ in which he speaks of the several townships of East Jersey as distracted by almost every variety of dissent, but with little appearance of real religion among them. The Dutch settlers of Bergen, indeed, he describes as about equally divided between Lutheran and Calvinist, and "a sober people, with one pretty little church;" but Piscataway was called the "Anabaptist Town," from "about twenty that agree in that persuasion, the rest of the people being of all or of no religion."

Freehold consisted partly of Scotch Presbyterians, "a sober people;" partly of settlers from New England and New York, who were, "generally speaking, of no religion." Middleton was settled from New York and New England: "it is," says Colonel Morris, "a large township; there is no such thing as church or religion amongst them; they are, perhaps, the most ignorant and wicked people in the world; their meeting on Sundays is at the public-house, where they get their fill of rum, and go to fighting and running of races, which are practices much in use that day all the province over."

At Shrewsbury there were about thirty Quakers, who had a meeting-house; "the rest of the people are generally of no religion. The youth of the whole province are very debauched, and very ignorant, and the Sabbath-day seems there to be set apart for rioting and drunkenness." An attempt to settle "a maintenance for ministers," was

¹ Appendix to Journal.

defeated by one Richard Harshorne, a Quaker, and Andrew Browne, an Anabaptist.

The Colonel describes the settlers of West Jersey in the same general terms—as “a hotch-potch of all religions,” and the youth as being “very debauched and very ignorant;” he, however, excepts the Quakers from this censure, styling them “the men of the best rank and estates” in the Province, but much reduced in number “since Mr. Keith left them.”

He gives nearly the same account of Pennsylvania, and then proceeds to suggest measures to remedy this grievous state of irreligion and division. Among others, that no man be sent as a Governor to any of the plantations but a firm churchman, and if possible, that none but churchmen be in his council and in the magistracy. That no clergyman be admitted to any considerable benefice in England, before he has preached ‘three years gratis in America.’”

At the same meeting of the Society, an account of the state of religion in the English plantations of North America, by Colonel Dudley, Governor of New England, was presented and read.

This document, relating to the early condition of States which have, during the last century and a half, so wonderfully increased, both in numbers and wealth, will be read with interest. It is therefore subjoined in full.

“An Account of the State of Religion in the English Plantations in North America, by Colonel Dudley, Governor of New England.”

“The plantations on the shore of America, as they lie from south to north, may be thus accounted :—

“*South Carolina* contains seven thousand souls, will admit and support three ministers.

" *North Carolina*, five thousand souls. Alike, three ministers, and both stand in need of schools.

" *Virginia*—forty thousand souls—was, by the Lord Culpepper, divided into about forty parishes, with an established maintenance by act of assembly, but is not fully supplied, and the maintenance hurt by disuse ; but will be always encouraged by Colonel Nicholson, the present governor.

" *Maryland*, twenty-five thousand souls, in twenty-six parishes. I suppose well supplied by the care of Dr. Bray.

" *Pennsylvania*, and the lower countries annexed, fifteen thousand souls, will well support four ministers ; one in Philadelphia, and one in each county, with dependent schools upon each.

" *West Jersey*—two thousand souls, most Quakers—may yet have one minister—at present supported from England.

" *East Jersey*—six thousand souls, in about seven towns and parishes—may at present support two ministers—the rest being dissenters.

" *New York*, twenty-five thousand souls, in twenty-five towns ; about ten of them Dutch, the rest English—may have about five ministers ; the rest Dutch Presbyterians and English Dissenters.

" *Connecticut*, thirty thousand souls, about thirty-three towns, all dissenters, supplied with ministers and schools of their own persuasion.

" *Naraganset*, or *King's Province*, three thousand souls, without any ministry, or public form of religion—may have two ministers, and might well support them.

" *Rhode Island* and *Providence Plantations*, five thousand souls in seven towns, at present under a Quaker government, but might have two ministers and schoolmasters, at first subsisted from home, at least one of them.

" *Massachussets*, or *New England*, seventy thousand souls in seventy towns, all dissenters, that have ministers and schools of their own persuasions, except one congregation of the Church of England at Boston, where there are two ministers.

" *New Hampshire*, three thousand souls in six towns, all dissenters that have ministers and schools of their own persuasion.

" *Province of Maine*, two thousand souls in six towns, (the rest of that great province being in ten years past wasted and driven

off by the Indians,) are all dissenters, and have ministers and schools of their own.

“In the last three colonies and Connecticut, by an early law providing for ministers and schoolmasters, I am of opinion there are no children to be found of ten years old who do not read well, nor men of twenty that do not write tolerably.

“The ministers to be sent from England to any of the above-said colonies must be men of good learning, sound morals, and should not be very young; and where there is not the view of a good support from their hearers, must be supplied from home, that they be not in contempt, but may be well provided for in those parts where the governments are immediately dependent upon the crown or government of England.”

On the same occasion was read a letter from the Rev. Geo. Keith, of whom, as being the first Missionary maintained by the Society, it is right to say a few words. Keith was born at Aberdeen in 1638, and was a fellow-student in that university with Bishop Burnet. After taking his degree of M.A., he quitted the Kirk of Scotland, joined the Quaker body, and went to Pennsylvania, where it appears that he created some disturbance among the members of that sect, by pushing their peculiar doctrines to an extreme. Thus he maintained, that no consistent Quaker could act either as lawgiver or magistrate. If this were admitted, the inference would necessarily follow, that their laws must be made and administered either by Churchmen, or by some of the numerous Protestant sects. Keith was brought to trial for the publication of these opinions, and convicted, though the fine which was imposed was afterwards remitted. Soon after this he joined the communion of the Church of England.¹

The following is the letter referred to:²—

¹ Bancroft's Hist. vol. viii. p. 36.

² Appendix to Journal, No. 3; no date is given.

“ From Mr. George Keith to the Secretary, about the state of Quakerism in North America.

“ Worthy Sir,—According to your desire, I send you this short memorial of the state of religion in such parts of Northern America where I have travelled, and which I can give of my own knowledge, especially in relation to Quakerism, and some other things, by letters from my friends there.

“ In Pennsylvania, when I came to live there, which was in the year 1689, by the number of men and women that used to come to the yearly meetings from the several parts of that province, and from the West and East Jerseys, we did commonly reckon there might be at least fifteen hundred Quakers, two hundred of which might perhaps belong to the West and East Jerseys.

“ After the breach that began in the year 1691, betwixt a party of Quakers that joined with me in opposing some of their errors, (espécially their notion of the sufficiency of the light within every man to salvation, without anything else,) and another party that joined with Thomas Lloyd, then deputy-governor of Pennsylvania, and a great preacher among the Quakers, all the meetings in these provinces above-mentioned were broken, and they set up separate meetings, one from another, on the account of different principles of religion, (especially in relation to the notion aforesaid, of the sufficiency of the light within, without anything else, which I and my friends judged a plain opposition to Christianity, and an establishing of Deism in its place,) so that when I came from Pennsylvania to England, which was in the year 1694, I left behind me fourteen or fifteen meetings in Pennsylvania, West and East Jerseys, that met apart from the other Quakers (on the account of their opposition to their errors), to the number of about five hundred persons.

“ Since there hath been a Church of England congregation set up at Philadelphia, the chief town in Pennsylvania, a considerable number of those that did come off with me on the account of the Quakers' errors are joined with the Church of England, both men and women of good account, and others of them keep up their separate meetings, particularly one at Philadelphia, and some

of them have joined themselves with the Anabaptists in those parts, as I have had particular information by letters from my friends there, year after year.

“ It would be of great service, as I judge, if one or two more Church of England ministers were sent to Pennsylvania ; it is not to be doubted but they would not only get hearers, but such as would join with them to make up congregations, one whereof might be at Newcastle, which is forty miles below Philadelphia, by the river Delawarr, and the other at the Falls, by the same river, about thirty miles above it.

“ In West Jersey, that lies on the east side of Delawarr river, I have several friends that joined with me in the separation from the Quakers, especially about Croswicks, which is about fifteen or sixteen miles from Burlington, (the chief town in West Jersey, lying by Delawarr river,)—if a Church of England minister were sent thither, it is not to be doubted but he would be received and joined with, both by some of my friends, and some other sober persons. The most proper place to set up a church would be at Burlington, and another at Croswicks, above mentioned.

“ In East Jersey I have several friends that came off with me in the separation from the Quakers, and so continue, and, as I have been informed by a worthy gentleman, Colonel Morris, formerly my scholar, who has a family and a good estate in that province, and is now in London, being lately come from East Jersey, who knows my friends there, they are well prepared to receive a Church of England minister among them ; and it is not to be doubted but he would have several other persons to join with him to set up a church congregation. The fittest places to set up a church congregation are Amboy, and the Falls in Shrewsbury, near where Colonel Morris has his house and estate ; for though Amboy have few inhabitants, yet people would come to it from Woodbridge, and other places thereabouts.

“ There is not one Church of England as yet in either West or East Jersey—the more is the pity—and except in two or three towns, there is no face of any public worship of any sort, but people live very mean, like Indians.

“ In New York there are but few Quakers, and some that were, are come off, and joined with the Church there. One Mrs. Whenf,

a friend of mine, is lately deceased, but before her death was baptized, and had the Lord's Supper administered to her, and got her children baptized ; whereof I had a late account in a letter from one of my friends there, now a zealous churchman.

“ In Long Island there are not many Quakers. It is a great place, and has many inhabitants, both English and Dutch. The Dutch are Calvinists, and have some Calvinistical congregations. The English, some of them Independents, but many of them of no religion, but like wild Indians. I think there is no Church of England in all Long Island, nor in all that great continent of New York province, except at New York town.

“ The places where the Quakers have the greatest meetings in Long Island are Cushing and Oyster Bay, in both which places I have been several times at their meetings. In Rhode Island, where I have been several times, there are many Quakers and Anabaptists, but never had a Church of England till of late.

“ In all the continent of New England there is no Church of England, I think, but at Boston. I have travelled through much of it, but never heard of any but that one. Few Quakers also are at Boston. There are some at Sandwich, some at Piscataway, and other scattered places, but very few.

“ It seems a good expedient to me that such ministers as go over into those parts that I have named, should not constantly reside in one place at present, but preach at several places through the whole province, which they may safely now travel through from one end to another, with little charge or difficulty.

“ And that a considerable number of little books, such as the Pastoral Letter, and those against swearing, drunkenness, and sabbath-breaking, were sent to be spread among them ; and if a little book were printed by some able man, to shew the sin of schism, to persuade to the communion of the Church of England, and sent among them, it would be of good service.

“ I remain, worthy Sir, your humble servant,

“ GEORGE KEITH.”

In a postscript he describes the qualifications which a North American Missionary should possess, and which are

as requisite at this day as in the first year of the Society's existence :—

“ Such as go over into those parts for the propagation of the Gospel, should be men of solidity and good experience, as well as otherwise qualified with good learning, and good natural parts, and especially exemplary in piety, and of a discreet zeal, humble and meek, able to endure the toil and fatigue they must expect to go through, both in mind and body, not raw young men, nor yet very old, whose godly zeal to propagate true Christianity in life and practice should be their great motive ; for people generally of those parts are very sharp and observant, to notice both what is good or bad in those who converse among them.”

The Society might be considered fortunate in meeting with a person so well qualified by his experience, talent, and energy, for the work in which he was to be engaged ; and it was, therefore, wisely determined to employ Mr. Keith in a preliminary mission of inquiry. He was directed to travel through the several provinces of North America, preaching as he went, at every fair opportunity, and endeavouring to awaken the people to a sense of religion.

This was the object of the first mission.

The Rev. George Keith, and another missionary, the Rev. Patrick Gordon, set sail in the *Centurion*, on the 24th of April, 1702, and were fortunate enough to have for their shipmates, Colonel Dudley, Governor of New England, and Colonel Morris, Governor of New Jersey. The Rev. John Talbot was chaplain on board the ship, and was so much struck with Mr. Keith's noble undertaking, that he offered himself to be the companion of his travels and labours.

The day after his arrival at Boston, which took place on the 11th June, 1702, Mr. Keith wrote to Mr. Chamberlain, the secretary, to announce the safe termination of his

voyage. He says, "Colonel Dudley was so very civil and kind to Mr. Gordon and me, that he caused us both eat at his table all the voyage, and his conversation was both pleasant and instructive, insomuch that the great cabin of the ship was like a college for good discourse, both in matters theological and philosophical, and very cordially he joined daily with us in divine worship, and I well understand he purposeth to give all possible encouragement to the congregation of the Church of England in this place. Also, Colonel Morris was very civil and kind to us, and so was the captain of the ship called the Centurion, and all the inferior officers, and all the mariners generally, and good order was kept in the ship; so that if any of the seamen were complained upon to the captain for profane swearing, he caused to punish them according to the usual custom, by causing them to carry a heavy wooden collar about their neck for an hour, that was both painful and shameful; and to my observation and knowledge, the seamen, as well as the officers, joined devoutly with us in our daily prayers according to the Church of England, and so did the other gentlemen that were passengers with us."¹

He then goes on to request, that "the chaplain of the Centurion, whose name is Mr. John Talbot, known to several worthy persons to be of good ability and fame," be appointed his "associate and assistant" in "the service of the Gospel in America," and that he be allowed "some honest competency to bear his charges." Mr. Gordon wrote home, at the same time, in like favourable terms of Mr. Talbot, whom he characterized "as a person of very good parts, and no worse morals;"² and Mr. Talbot was accordingly appointed, 18th September, 1702.

In recommending a brother missionary, Mr. Gordon was

¹ MS. Letters, vol. i. 9.

² Ibid.

unwittingly providing a successor to himself. His own career of usefulness was closed almost as soon as it began. Governor Morris, in a letter to Archdeacon (afterwards Bishop) Beveridge, gives the following account of his last days, and of the favourable impression which he had created: "Mr. Gordon's abilities, sobriety, and prudence, which gained him the good opinion of everybody acquainted with him, both of the Church and among the dissenters, gave me great hopes I should be able to transmit your Reverence an account of the great progress he had made in his mission; but God, who disposes all things wisely and best, was pleased to take him away just as he was entering upon his charge. He went from New York with design to preach in his parish (at the invitation of some of the best men in it,) took sick the day before he designed to preach, and so continued till his death, which was in about eight days after."¹

Mr. Keith was induced by Colonel Morris to remain at Boston, before setting forth on his missionary journey, until "the Commencement," at which, he says, "the good man was met with very little University breeding, and with less learning, but he was most distressed by the theses which were there maintained of predestination and immutable decrees, to which he drew up a long answer in Latin." After this, he commenced his travels westward, in company with his chosen companion, Talbot. They visited the Quakers' meetings wherever they had an opportunity, but were met with the bitterest opposition and abuse. Keith especially was subjected to their most violent attacks, and was at once hated for what they termed his apostasy, and feared for his acuteness and controversial ability. The whole Quaker theology of this period, in

¹ MS. Letters, vol. i. 45.

America, consisted in the dogma, that "the light within every man was, of itself, without anything else, sufficient to his salvation." Nevertheless, the two friends found, in various parts of New England, many well affected to the Church, "not only the people, but several presbyterian ministers, who received us as brothers. And were there a Bishop in America," he says, "we doubt not but several would receive ordination from him."

They next proceeded to Long Island, and preached at Hampstead, in a large house which was thronged, and many stood without doors, both morning and afternoon. Here also, as well as in New York, the Jerseys, and Pennsylvania, were found many well disposed to the Church. In Philadelphia they preached in church, on a Sunday, to a congregation of one thousand persons, including "many Presbyterians, Anabaptists, and Quakers."

At New York there was "a brave congregation of people belonging to the Church, as well as a very fine fabric; and," continues Mr. Keith, "the Rev. Mr. Vesey was very much esteemed and loved, both for his ministry and good life, and the like I can say of all the other ministers of the Church where I have travelled, as at Boston, Rhode Island, and Philadelphia."

He concludes his account of this missionary tour with a high testimony to the character of his travelling companion, Mr. Talbot, "who," he says, "has been a very loving and comfortable assistant to me in all respects. He is both a pious man and a good scholar."¹

It may be as well to insert here Mr. Talbot's account of their joint labours, which, as it is contained in a letter addressed to a friend, is written in a free and familiar style, but touches upon some points of the highest importance,

¹ MS. Letters, vol. i. 50.

among others the want that was even then felt of a resident Bishop.

" Mr. John Talbot to Mr. Richard Gillingham.¹

" New York, 24th Nov. 1702.

" My dear Friend,—I take all opportunities to let you know that I live, and shall be glad to hear as much of you. Friend Keith and I have been above 500 miles together, visiting the churches in these parts of America, namely, New England, New Hampshire, New Bristol, New London, New York, and the New Jerseys, as far as Philadelphia. We preached in all churches where we came, and in several dissenters' meetings, such as owned the Church of England to be their mother Church, and were willing to communicate with her, and to submit to her bishops, if they had opportunity. I have baptized several persons whom Mr. Keith has brought over from Quakerism ; and, indeed, in all places where we come, we find a great ripeness and inclination amongst all sorts of people to embrace the Gospel ; even the Indians themselves have promised obedience to the faith, as appears by a conference that my Lord Cornbury, the Governor here, has had with them at Albany. Five of their Sachems, or kings, told him they were glad to hear that the sun shined in England again since King William's death. They did admire at first what was come to us, that we should have a squaw sachem—namely, a woman king ; but they hoped she would be a good mother, and send them some to teach them religion, and establish traffic amongst them, that they might be able to purchase a coat, and not go to church in bear skins ; and so they send our Queen a present,—ten beaver skins to make her fine, and one fur muff to keep her warm. After a many presents and compliments, they signed the treaty, and made the covenant so sure, that they said thunder and lightning should not break it on their part, if we did not do as the Lord Bellamont did, throw it into the sea.

" The papists have been very zealous and diligent to send priests and Jesuits to convert these Indians to their superstitions. 'Tis wonderfully acted, ventured, and suffered upon that design ;

¹ MS. Letters, vol. i. 56.

they have indeed become all things, and even turned Indians, as it were, to gain them, which I hope will provoke some of us to do our part for our holy faith, and mother, the Church of England. One of their priests lived half a year in their wigwams (that is, houses) without a shirt ; and when he petitioned my Lord Bellamont for a couple, he was not only denied, but banished ; whereas one of ours in discourse with my Lord of London, said, who did his lordship think would come hither that had a dozen shirts ? If I had their language, or wherewith to maintain an interpreter, it should be the first thing I should do to go amongst the thickest of them. Mr. Keith says, if he were younger, he would learn their language, and then I am sure he might convert them sooner than the heathen called Quakers. Indeed, he is the fittest man that ever came over for this province. He is a well-studied divine, a good philosopher and preacher, but, above all, an excellent disputant, especially against the Quakers, who used to challenge all mankind formerly ; now all the Friends (or enemies rather) are not able to answer one George Keith ; he knows the depth of Satan within them, and all the dwellings and windings of *the snake in the grass*. In short, he has become the best champion against all dissenters that the Church ever had ; and has set up such a light in these dark places, that, by God's blessing, will not be put out. The clergy here have had a sort of convocation at the instance and charge of his Excellency Colonel Nicholson, governor of Virginia. We were but seven in all ; and a week together we sat considering of ways and means to propagate the Gospel, and to that end we have drawn up a scheme of the present state of the Church in these provinces, which you shall see when I have time to transcribe it ; and I shall desire you to send it afterwards to my good brother Kemble. We have great need of a Bishop here, to visit all the churches, to ordain some, to confirm others, and bless all.

“ We pray for my good Lord of London ; we cannot have better than he whilst he lives ; therefore, in the meantime, we shall be very well content with a suffragan. Mr. Keith's mission will be out about a year hence ; by that time I hope to get some tokens for my good friends and benefactors. But, as for myself, I am so well satisfied with a prospect of doing good, that I have no

inclination to return for England ; however, be so kind as to let me know how you do, which will be a comfort to me in the wilderness. You know all my friends ; pray let them, especially my mother and sister Hannah know that I am well, God be praised, and shall be glad to hear so much of them. I cannot write many letters, much less one two or three times over, as when I had nothing else to do. I pray God bless you and all my friends ! I desire the benefit of their prayers, though I can't have that of their good company. I know you will take all in good part that comes from—Your old friend,
“ JOHN TALBOT.”

The following extracts from a letter by the same writer to the Secretary,¹ contain a graphic account of the state both of the Church and of the various contending sects in the countries which he visited, while they show, at the same time, the effect produced by the preaching and exertions of Mr. Keith :—

“ Philadelphia, 1st Sept. 1703.

“ Sir,—We have been the grand circuit from New England to North Carolina, and are now returned to the centre of our business. . . .

“ Mr. Keith and I have preached the Gospel to all sorts and conditions of men ; we have baptized several scores of men, women, and children, chiefly those of his old friends (and the rest are hardened, just like the Jews, who please not God, and are contrary to all men). We have gathered several hundreds together for the Church of England, and, what is more, to build houses for her service. There are four or five going forward now in this province and the next. That at Burlington is almost finished. Mr. Keith preached the first sermon in it before my Lord Cornbury, whom the Queen has made governor of Jersey, to the satisfaction of all Christian people. Churches are going up amain, where there were never any before. They are going to build three at North Carolina, to keep the people together, lest they should fall into heathenism, Quakerism, &c. ; and three more in these lower

¹ MS. Letters, vol. i. 125.

counties about Newcastle, besides those I hope at Chester, Burlington, and Amboy.

"And I must be so just to a member of yours, his Excellency Francis Nicholson, governor of Virginia, as to acknowledge him to be the prime benefactor and founder-in-chief of them all. So generous has he been to the Church, so just to the State, so far from taking of bribes, that he will not receive a present from any, great or small. Therefore we have hopes that it will please God and the Queen to give him time to perfect the good works that he has begun, that he may see the Church prosper and prevail against all her enemies, which I dare say is all that he desires.

"Being zealous for the honour of the Church of England, which is the mother of us all, upon her account it was that I was willing to travel with Mr. Keith. Indeed, I was loth he should go alone, now he was for us, who, I am sure, would have had followers enough, had he come against us. Besides, I had another end in it, that, by his free conversation and learned disputes, both with his friends and enemies, I have learned better in a year to deal with the Quakers, than I could by several years study in the schools. We want more of his "Narratives," which would be of good use here, where we often meet with the Quakers and their books; more of his "Answers to Robert Barclay," would come well to the clergy of Maryland and Virginia, &c. Barclay's Book has done most mischief; therefore Mr. Keith's answer is more requisite and necessary. Mr. Keith has done great service to the Church, wherever he has been, by preaching and disputing publicly, and from house to house; he has confuted many (especially the Anabaptists) by labour and travel night and day; by writing and printing of books, mostly at his own charge and cost, and giving them out freely, which has been very expensive to him. By these means people are much awakened, and their eyes opened to see the good old way, and they are very well pleased to find the Church at last take such care of her children. For it is a sad thing to consider the years that are past; how some that were born of the English never heard of the name of Christ; how many others were baptized in his name, and have fallen away to heathenism, Quakerism, and atheism, for want of Confirmation.

"It seems the strangest thing in the world, and it is thought

history can't parallel it, that any place has received the word of God so many years, so many hundred churches built, so many thousand proselytes made, and still remain altogether in the wilderness, as sheep without a shepherd. The poor Church of America is worse on't in this respect, than any of her adversaries.

"The Presbyterians here come a great way to lay hands one on another, but, after all, I think they had as good stay at home for the good they do. The Independents are called by their sovereign lord the people; the Anabaptists and Quakers pretend to the Spirit; but the poor Church has nobody upon the spot to comfort or confirm her children; nobody to ordain several that are willing to serve, were they authorized, for the work of the ministry. Therefore they fall back again into the herd of the dissenters, rather than they will be at the hazard and charge to go as far as England for orders; so that we have seen several counties, islands, and provinces, which have hardly an orthodox minister amongst them, which might have been supplied, had we been so happy as to see a Bishop or Suffragan apud Americanos. . . .

"We count ourselves happy, and indeed so we are, under the protection and fatherly care of the Right Reverend Father in God, Henry, Lord Bishop of London; and we are all satisfied that we cannot have a greater friend and patron than himself." . . .

He then alludes to the ocean which separated them, and after asking whether a Suffragan might not be sent, he thus concludes:—

"I believe, and am sure, there are a great many learned and good men in England; and I believe also, did our gracious Queen Anne but know the necessities of her many good subjects in these parts of the world, she would allow 1,000*l.* per annum, rather than so many souls should suffer; and then it would be a hard case if there should not be found one amongst so many pastors and doctors (*de tot millibus unus qui transiens adjuvet nos*). Meanwhile, I don't doubt but some learned and good man would go further, and do the Church more service with 100*l.* per annum, than with a coach and six one hundred years hence.

"Sir, your most obedient humble servant,

"JOHN TALBOT."

In 1704, Mr. Keith drew up a detailed "Narrative" of the journeys he travelled, and the labours and troubles he underwent, to preach the Gospel in the several American colonies. A Missionary he may be called in the truest sense of the word, being ready everywhere, and at all times—in season and out of season, to proclaim the truth to both bond and free; but, as already mentioned, he seems to have considered himself specially called upon to confute the errors of the Quakers, from whom he had separated himself; and we therefore frequently find him inviting discussions on their peculiar views in their own meeting-houses. Wherever an opportunity was offered, he attended; and being, of course, well acquainted with their several publications, especially those of Fox, Penn, Barclay, and Burroughs, he came prepared, to use his own expression, "to detect the Quakers' errors out of their printed books." But, instead of argument, he was answered by clamour and invective. The best way of putting the reader in possession of his proceedings in this mission, will be to give a few specimens of the "Narrative" itself, which is of considerable length, and written in a very quaint and primitive style. It commences with the words "Praised be God, the Author and Finisher of every good work;" and the writer, after an account of his voyage from London, thus proceeds:—

"15th Sept. 1704.

"We went together from Boston to Lin, and next morning we went to a Quaker's house of my former acquaintance, and from that to the Quakers' meeting, 9th July, where, after I had kept silence until divers of their preachers had spoken, I offered to speak, but was rudely interrupted and threatened by them, and accused for transgressing the Act of Toleration; I told them I had not broke it, for I did not interrupt any of their preachers. After this I remained again silent, and quietly sat down till they

had all done, and then I rose up to speak, and offered to show them, in a friendly manner, how their speakers had perverted the Scriptures, and asserted many things of false doctrine. But most of them went hastily away, though some staid, with many that came to the meeting who were not Quakers, to whom I spoke many things with little interruption, until I took Edward Burroughs' folio book, which I brought with me from Boston, and began to read many antichristian passages out of it, which yet the Quakers did generally justify ; and particularly Sam. Collins, and other Quakers, did boldly and earnestly defend that assertion, that the light within them, and in every man, was sufficient to salvation, without anything else ; the falsehood and hurt of which assertion, and how contrary it was and prejudicial to the Christian religion, I laboured to convince them of, but did nothing prevail. Mr. Shepherd, the Independent minister of Lin parish, did civilly accompany us to the Quakers' meeting, but they treated him very rudely and abusively, as they did us, with abusive and ill language, as their constant manner is.

"At the said Commencement at Cambridge, in New England, distant from Boston about six miles, I had occasion to see many of the New England Independent ministers there, and divers of them spoke very kindly to us, and invited us to their houses in our travels, particularly Mr. Shepherd, minister of Lin, and Mr. John Cotton, Minister of Hampton ; fifty miles north-eastward distant from Boston this Hampton is.

10th July.—We arrived at Hampton, and lodged at Mr. John Cotton's house, the minister of Hampton, where we were kindly entertained by him several days, and had much free discourse with him about religious matters, and the Church of England, to which we found him very favourable, as also we found divers other ministers of New England. At Mr. Cotton's request, both I and Mr. Talbot preached in his pulpit to his parishioners in their meeting-house (which they do not commonly call a church), the one of us in the forenoon and the other in the afternoon. I again, at Mr. Cotton's request, preached the Wednesday's lecture there ; my text both days was Acts xxvi. 18 ; where was a great auditory both days.

"19th, Sunday.—I preached at Salisbury meeting-house, in

the pulpit of Mr. Cushin, minister of that parish, at his request ; my text was Philip. i. 12, 13 ; and so did Mr. Talbot, the one of us in the forenoon, the other in the afternoon, where also we had a great auditory, many coming to both places from neighbouring parishes purposely to hear us, and who were civil, and showed great satisfaction, and so did the minister, who kindly treated us, and with whom we lodged that night, and whom we found in discourse very favourable to the Church of England.

"*16th July, 1702.*—We went to the Quakers' meeting at Hampton, accompanied with Mr. John Cotton, and where Mr. Cushin came to us, and very many civil people of both parishes came, who were not Quakers, hoping to have heard some fair dispute between the Quakers and me ; and there, at the Quakers' meeting at the house of Abraham Green, a Quaker, we heard two Quaker preachers ; the first was one Edward Wanton, a ship carpenter at Scituate, who spake about half an hour or more, but very ignorantly, and most grossly perverting several texts of Scripture, particularly John xvii. 3, and Rom. i. 19, which he brought to prove* that the ignorant people there (to whom he addressed his discourse, and not to the Quakers), as he accounted them, had a little babe within them lying in a manger under the earth, to which if they would hearken, that little babe within them (meaning the light within) would give them the knowledge of God, which was life eternal : he confessed he could not read the Scriptures, and told them he hoped they would excuse him if he did not so exactly quote the words. After him another Quaker preacher, a planter, at Shrewsbury, in East Jersey, continued speaking very long, above two hours, and did mightily heat himself (as the sweat that ran down his waistcoat in great abundance did show) ; he also most ignorantly spoke many things, and grossly perverted and misapplied many texts of Scripture to prove the sufficiency of the light within to salvation, without anything else ; and, as the Quakers' ordinary way is in their preaching everywhere, they have a set of texts of Scripture, which they commonly quote to prove the sufficiency of the light within to salvation without anything else, but which they miserably pervert and misapply ; such as John i. 9 ; Rom. i. 19 ; John iii. 19, 20 ; John xii. 36 ; John xvi. 7—11 ; Rom. x. 6—8 ; Tit. ii. 11 : all

which, and many more, Mr. Barclay, in his Apology, has produced in favour of the Quakers, and to all which I have fully replied in my Answer to his said book ; and many of these, and the like texts of Scripture, this Jedediah Allen did grossly pervert and misapply to prove his false doctrines. And the like perversions of Scripture he used against Baptism and the Supper in the common road of other Quakers, as extant in their printed books. After he had done, having mightily tired and wearied all his hearers who were not Quakers, I offered to speak, but their preachers went away in all haste, and so did many of the Quaker hearers ; but a great many who were not Quakers, with the two New England ministers, staid, and so did many Quakers ; and the house being very hot, all the people who were desirous to hear me, and several Quakers, with the ministers above-mentioned, went out into a yard or orchard, being about the fourth hour in the afternoon, where they heard me about an hour refute the false doctrines and perversions of Scriptures which the two Quaker preachers had made.”¹

The following extract from Mr. Keith's “ Summary Account of his Travels, Services, and Successes in North America, from June 11, 1702, to June 8, 1704,” may be added :—

“ *London, 13th Nov. 1704.*—I travelled and preached in all the dominions and governments belonging to the Crown of England betwixt North Carolina and Piscataway River, in New England, inclusively, of extent in length about 800 English miles, being in number ten district governments ; viz. 1. Piscataway. 2. Boston Colony, called Massachussets Bay. 3. Rhode Island Colony, that contains not only the island but Naraganset and other adjacent parts on the continent. 4. Connecticut Colony. 5. New York Province, that contains Long Island and Staten Island, beside the large country on the continent, along Hudson's River. 6. The New Jerseys, East and West, that were formerly two governments, but are of late made one under my Lord Cornbury. 7. Pennsylvania. 8. Maryland. 9. Virginia. 10. North Carolina.

¹ Appendix to Journal, 50.

“It further appeared by my Journal that I travelled twice over most of those governments and colonies above mentioned, and preached oft again and again in many of them, particularly in Pennsylvania, West and East Jersey, New York, and on Long Island as far as Oyster Bay.

“The success I had in general over all the parts where I preached was, that I found the people generally were well affected to the doctrines of the Gospel, that both I and my associate, the Rev. Mr. Talbot, preached unto them, and seemed to hear the word with great reverence, humility, and zeal, and did generally join with us devoutly in the Liturgy and Public Prayers, and Administration of the Holy Sacraments after the Church of England, and where ministers were wanting (as there are wanting in many places, and as hereafter are to be mentioned) they greatly desired us to present their requests for ministers to the Honourable Society.

“Beside the general success we had (praised be God for it all!) in our preaching, and much and frequent conferences with people thereaway, we had very good success, most especially in several places in Pennsylvania, the two Jerseys, and Oyster Bay, on Long Island, and at New York, where we most laboured and continued the longest time with them. There were at this time three churches in Pennsylvania, all provided with clergymen—one at Philadelphia, with an average congregation of 500—one at Chester, with a congregation of about 200—and one at Franckfort, with a congregation of 150.”

The next passage is very interesting, as showing the bias towards the Church of England which existed among many of the New England ministers, and affected even the Puritan College of Boston. Already that spirit of inquiry was awakened which, a few years later, led several of the more distinguished professors and students of that institution, as Cutler, Johnson, and Brown, to abandon the system in which they had been educated, and profess their conviction of the scriptural and Apostolic foundation of our Church.

“In divers parts of New England we found not only many

people well affected to the Church, who have no Church of England ministers, and in some places none of any sort ; but also we found several New England ministers very well affected to the Church, some of whom both hospitably entertained us in their houses and requested us to preach in their congregations, which accordingly we did, and received great thanks, both from the ministers and people ; and in Cambridge College, in New England, we were civilly treated by some of the Fellows there, who have a very great favour to the Church of England, and were it not for the poisonous doctrines that have been infused into the scholars and youths there, and deep prejudices against the Church of England by Mr. Increase Mather, formerly President of the College there, and Mr. Samuel Willard, now President there, the scholars and students there would soon be brought over to the Church. But it would mightily contribute, not only to bring over the students to the Church, but the generality of the people there, if they had an able Church of England man to be President of the College there, and one or two Fellows of the Church of England to be tutors to the students there. But the hurt is great, that not only the people of New England are poisoned with principles and prejudices against the Church of England, but over all the English American parts there come frequently men that pretend to be ministers out of that College of Cambridge, in New England, who are [not only] infected with New England principles and prejudices against the Church, but infect all others who receive them, and of such there are not a few in several parts of North America, as in Long Island, East Jersey, Maryland, Virginia ; and one of Philadelphia, who pretends to be a Presbyterian, and has a congregation to whom he preaches there.”¹

Almost immediately after the incorporation of the Society, applications and memorials were forwarded to it from the several plantations of America, representing their pressing want of ministers. In the course of his travels, Mr. Keith had frequent opportunities of witnessing this great deficiency, and the anxiety of the people to supply it.

¹ Appendix to Journal, 50.

“At Amboy, in East Jersey,” he says, “they have contributed about 200*l.* towards building a church, and greatly desire a minister. A subscription of like amount, and for the same purpose, was raised at Burlington.”¹ Mr. Keith adds, “There is a mighty cry and desire, almost in all places where we have travelled, to have ministers of the Church of England sent to them in these northern parts of America; so that it may be said, the harvest is great, but the labourers few. . . . If they come not timely, the whole country will be overrun with Presbyterians, Anabaptists, and Quakers.”

He, again and again, in subsequent letters,² urges this point, both upon the Bishop of London and the Society.

With a view to meet such pressing demands, and to provide a sufficient number of duly qualified clergy, the Society, at a general meeting, held January 15, 1702, resolved, “That all the Bishops of the realm, who are members of the Society, should be earnestly desired to recommend it to their Archdeacons and their officials, that public notice may be given in their next archidiaconal visitations, that such clergymen as have a mind to be employed in this Apostolical work, and can bring sufficient testimonials that they are duly qualified for it, may give in their names to their respective Bishops, to be communicated by them to the Society, in order to sending them to such places as have most need, and where they may, therefore, by God’s blessing and assistance, do most good. And if any shall be sent to places where there is not a sufficient maintenance already settled, the Society will take care, that they may have not only a competent subsistence, but all the encouragement that is due to those who devote themselves to the service of Almighty God and our Saviour, by propagating

¹ MS. Letters, vol. i. 87.

² Ibid. 98 and 103.

and promoting his Gospel in the truth and purity of it, according to the doctrine, discipline, and worship established in the Church of England.”¹ The Society, at the same time, took the utmost care to select for missionary duty such clergymen only as were found to possess the various qualifications for its due discharge. With a view, therefore, to guard itself as much as possible against being imposed upon by unworthy candidates, the following paper was drawn up and circulated:—

“The Society erected by royal charter for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, taking into serious consideration the absolute necessity there is, that those clergymen who shall be sent abroad should be duly qualified for the work to which they are appointed, desire that all persons who shall recommend any to that purpose, will testify their knowledge as to the following particulars, viz.—

“1. The age of the person. 2. His condition of life, whether single or married. 3. His temper. 4. His prudence. 5. His learning. 6. His sober and pious conversation. 7. His zeal for the Christian religion, and diligence in his holy calling. 8. His affection to the present government; and 9. His conformity to the doctrine and discipline of the Church of England.

“And the said Society do request and earnestly beseech all persons concerned, that they recommend no man out of favour or affection, or any other worldly consideration; but with a sincere regard to the honour of Almighty God and our blessed Saviour, as they tender the interest of the Christian religion, and the good of men’s souls.”²

Very full instructions also were given to the Missionaries for their guidance, both during their voyage, and after their arrival in the colony; and so well, for the most part, do they seem to have been selected, that Lord Cornbury,³

¹ An Account of the Society, p. 30.

² Ibid. 1706, p. 21.

³ See the Royal Instructions to Lord Cornbury, Appendix C.

governor of New York, and a great upholder of the Church within his jurisdiction, said, in a letter dated Nov. 22, 1705, "For those places where Ministers are settled, as New York, Jamaica,¹ Hampstead, West Chester, and Rye, I must do the gentlemen who are settled there the justice to say, that they have behaved themselves with great zeal, exemplary piety, and unwearied diligence in discharge of their duty in their several parishes, in which, I hope, the Church will, by their diligence, be increased more and more every day."² In like manner, Colonel Heathcote, writing to the Secretary of the Society from the same colony, on the 9th November, 1705, says, "I must do all the gentlemen that justice, whom you have sent to this province, as to declare that a better clergy were never in any place, there being not one amongst them that has the least stain or blemish as to his life or conversation."³

¹ A town so called in Long Island.

² MS. Letters, vol. ii. 131.

³ Ibid. 117.

CHAPTER III.

SOUTH CAROLINA.

Original Settlement—Charter—Code of Laws—First Church—Rev. A. Williamson—Rev. S. Marshall—Rev. S. Thomas—Dr. Le Jau—Witchcraft—Slaves—Small-pox—Rev. Mr. Merry—Rev. Mr. Ludlam—Rev. Robert Maule—Mr. Maule's Death and Character—Rev. Gideon Johnstone, Commissary—His Death—Indian War—Liberality of the Society—Rev. Alexander Garden—Rev. Thomas Hasell—Rev. Lewis Jones—Rev. William Guy—Rev. Charles Martyn—Rev. Robert Baron—Rev. James Harrison—Mr. Garden's Resignation and Character—Ecclesiastical Discipline—Whitfield—Services of the Society in the North American Colonies.

THE Provinces of South and North Carolina, originally united in one colony, were granted by Charles II., in 1662, to certain noblemen, who professed themselves to be impelled by a desire to enlarge his Majesty's dominions, and by "zeal for the propagation of the Christian faith in a country not yet cultivated or planted, and only inhabited by some barbarous people, who had no knowledge of God." A charter was accordingly given to the petitioners, among whom the most distinguished were the Duke of Albemarle and the Earl of Clarendon. A code of laws for the government of the Colony, under the title of "the Fundamental Constitutions of South Carolina," was drawn up by the celebrated John Locke, but it was never adopted by the colonists, who, becoming dissatisfied with the proprietary government, placed themselves, in 1719, under the protection of the King. The first settlement at Charleston, so called in

honour of King Charles II., was formed 1672—and the first church, a wooden one, was built there about 1682. Already a clergyman, the Rev. Atkin Williamson, had arrived in the colony, where he continued his ministry up to an advanced age. He was succeeded, in 1696, by the Rev. Samuel Marshall, an amiable and learned man, who had been induced to go to Carolina by Burkitt, the commentator on the New Testament. So satisfied were the people with the conduct and zealous exertions of Mr. Marshall, that they settled upon him a salary of 150*l*. He was, however, carried off by a malignant fever, in 1699, three years after his arrival.¹

The Rev. Samuel Thomas was sent as Missionary to South Carolina, on the then usual allowance of 50*l*. a-year, and arrived at Charleston on Christmas-day, 1702.² During his passage, he “read prayers twice every day, and preached and catechised twice every Lord’s day.” He was prevented prosecuting his mission to the Yammonsee Indians, by a war in which they were then engaged with the Spaniards; but describes the settlers at Gooscreek, which was the centre of his district, as ready to profit by his ministry, and well affected to the Church of England. Though the number of his communicants was at first but five, they soon increased to thirty-two; and he took great pains to instruct the negroes.

Mr. Thomas seems, during his short life, to have acquired the esteem of all classes in the province; for, in announcing his death, which occurred in December, 1706, the governor and council spoke of it as a “very great loss to the province, he being a person of great piety and virtue, and by

¹ Dalcho’s Historical Account of the Church in South Carolina, p. 32.

² MS. Letters, vol. i. 86.

his exemplary life, and diligent preaching, and obliging carriage, had the good-will of all men.”¹

Dr. Le Jau succeeded to this mission. After a residence of six months, he thus wrote to the Society:—“The Indians I have conversed with do make us ashamed by their life, conversation, and sense of religion, quite different from ours. Ours consists in words and appearance; their’s in reality. I hope they will soon worship Christ. The negroes are generally very bad men, chiefly those that are scholars; I will baptize none but such as lead a Christian life, and of whom I have a good testimony. My parish reaches above thirty miles in length, and near as many in breadth. A vast number of children were not baptized, because the parents had no money. I have taken care to let them know that our Church does not teach us to sell sacraments.

“The number of our communicants is about thirty. In the parish of St. Thomas, where Mr. Hasell lives, we had forty. In the parish of St. Denis, a French settlement, fifty.”

It is well known that a belief in witchcraft prevailed very generally at this time in the American settlements. Dr. Le Jau says, 15th April, 1707, “A notorious malefactor, evidently guilty of witchcraft, and who has killed several persons by the devil’s help, was lately returned ignoramus by the grand jury. This makes me stand amazed, that the spirit of the devil should be so much respected as to make men call open witchcraft imagination, and no more.”²

He seems to have been a single-hearted, laborious Missionary, devoting all his time to the discharge of his sacred duties, especially to the instruction of the negroes and

¹ Appendix to Journal, 95.

² MS. Letters, vol. iii. p. 141.

Indians, and the children of all. He appointed one day in the week for catechising publicly in the church, seeing "the indispensable necessity of that duty." This care for their spiritual good was fully appreciated by his parishioners, who, when the church was found too small for his increasing congregation, erected a "beautiful brick fabric," and contributed handsomely to the repairs of the parsonage.¹ "I converse," he says, "as often as my business can permit, with our free Indians—a good sort of people, and that would be better if they were not spoiled by our bad examples."² The following passages give a painful view of the light in which slaves were regarded by their masters: "Several sensible and sober slaves have asked me also to be baptized and married according to the form of our holy Church. I could not comply with their desire without the consent of their masters; but I have exhorted them to perseverance and patience. I also humbly desire to be directed therein: the masters are unwilling, most of them. Many masters can't be persuaded that negroes and Indians are otherwise than beasts, and use them like such."²

In respect to his dealing with dissenters, he says in a really Christian spirit,—“I labour to undeceive our separated brethren that are of a good-will, and of an honest heart: some hearken and consider. God is my witness, I only aim to bring them to Jesus Christ, which is the end of my mission.”

In a letter written at the commencement of 1712, in which he gives an account of the dreadful mortality in South Carolina, which had been occasioned by small-pox and fever, he says, "The surgeons are of opinion that the air has been infected these fourteen years. I look upon a more immediate cause—that is, the irreligion and lewdness

¹ Humphreys, p. 85.

² MS. Letters, vol. iv. l. 142.

of too many persons, but chiefly the barbarous usage of the poor slaves ;” and he then gives instances of the frightful cruelties practised upon them. Again, he says, “It is evident that our traders have promoted bloody wars this last year to get slaves ; and one of them bought lately one hundred of those poor souls.”¹

The number of communicants continued to increase till, in 1714, they were seventy English and eight negroes.

Dr. Le Jau died in 1717, very generally lamented.

An interval of three years occurred before the vacancy was supplied by Mr. Merry, who remained but a short time, and then returned to England ; and it was not till 1724, seven years after the death of Dr. Le Jau, during which the spiritual interests of the mission must have greatly suffered, that the Rev. Mr. Ludlam arrived to take charge of it. Of his labours but scanty records exist. It appears, however, from them, that he devoted much time and care to the education of the negroes ; and, at his death, in 1728, he left to the Society, in trust, the whole of his property, amounting to 2,000*l.* Carolina money, “for erecting and maintaining a school for the instruction of poor children of that parish.”

It would be unfair, even in so general an account as the present, to leave unmentioned the name of the Rev. Robert Maule, who went, in 1707, to St. John’s parish, on the Western branch of Cooper River. He appears to have been a very faithful and laborious Missionary, riding great distances “up and down among the plantations,” to visit his “widely-scattered flock.” The result was a visible improvement in the moral character of his people, and a more frequent attendance upon the ordinances of religion. In his, as well as in other missions, much good was effected

¹ MS. Letters, vol. vii. p. 396.

by the Books of Common Prayer, which the Society supplied for distribution. He records in his correspondence some interesting traits of the Indian character. "They are, for the most part, great lovers of justice and equity in their dealings, and can't endure either to cheat or be cheated; they have some customs among them that look as if they had been derived by tradition from the Jews; they all of them shew great joy and thankfulness at the gatherings of their first-fruits, which they express by their feastings, dancings, and other indications of rejoicings. The heads of their families have great deference and respect paid them by their children and relations, who dare scarce so much as speak in their presence without their particular leave and approbation. They are extremely fond of a numerous issue, and reckon it a great virtue among them to have killed and destroyed many of their enemies. Some nations of them do this day circumsise their children, and have still remaining amongst them some imperfect notions of a deluge. I have, in my conversation with some of their old men, clearly discovered their belief of a God, and of future rewards and punishments."¹

Mr. Maule's course of useful labour was grievously interrupted by the Indian war, which broke out in 1715, and by which his parishioners were driven as fugitives from their plantations. In these trying circumstances, the pastor showed that he was no hireling. He retired into the garrison, to which most of his congregation had fled for safety; and there, he says, "I continued above four months, constantly exercising the duties of my ministerial function. I baptized their children, visited their sick and wounded, buried their dead, preached every Lord's day, and read prayers twice every day in the week. The duty, I must

¹ MS. Letters, vol. vii. p. 363.

confess, was almost above my strength, being performed in a numerous crowd, that were penned up in a small compass, and in the very extremity of the hot weather, but I underwent it with all the cheerfulness I could. I considered that, having hitherto resided amongst them in their prosperity, I could not in conscience desert them in times of danger and distress, that so I might learn them by my example, as well as doctrine, to submit with cheerfulness to the will of God. When things began to be better settled, I returned to my own house, where I was not long before I felt the effects of the summer's fatigue.

“When I came into this country first, I thought nothing could hurt me; but I find by experience that the climate can break even the strongest constitution. However, I do not repine; if I be but serviceable in my generation, and answer the great ends of my mission here, I am satisfied not only to sacrifice my health, but (if that could be of any use) my very life, too, for the propagation of the Gospel of Jesus Christ.”¹ This letter is dated February 18, 1716. He died on the 23d September in the same year, being the fourth Missionary who was carried off within eighteen months. Dr. Le Jau, in communicating the sad event, says, “Indeed, this last loss cannot be sufficiently lamented by the whole province, which has been witness of the excellent and Christian qualities that adorned the life and conversation of our late deceased brother. His piety, modesty, charity, and sweet temper, rendered him the object of our love; and the Clergy lost in him one of their brightest ornaments.”² He left all the property of which he died possessed, equal to 600*l.*, Carolina money, to the Society.

The Rev. Gideon Johnstone was sent by the Bishop of

¹ MS. Letters, vol. xi. p. 127.

² Ibid. vol. xii. p. 68.

London, in the year 1707, as Commissary, to South Carolina. On his voyage out he was stranded on a sand-bank, where he lay "twelve days and as many nights without any manner of meat and drink, or shelter from the scorching heat of the sun." "At last, on the 12th," he says, "a canoe got to us, when we were at the last gasp, and just on the point of expiring; the next morning we were conveyed to the opposite part of the continent, where I lay a fortnight before I could recover strength enough to reach the town."¹

On his arrival, he found the church pre-occupied by Mr. Marsden, who had been chosen Incumbent; and the annoyance to which he was thus exposed, added to the sufferings of the sea-voyage and wreck, will account for the tone of his first letter home, in which, writing to the Bishop of Salisbury, (Burnet,) he says, "I never repented so much of anything, my sins only excepted, as my coming to this place." Under the influence of the same feelings, doubtless, it was that he received his first impressions of the settlers in South Carolina. "The people here, generally speaking, are the vilest race of men upon the earth; they have neither honour, nor honesty, nor religion enough to entitle them to any tolerable character, being a perfect medley or hotch-potch of bankrupts, pirates, decayed libertines, sectaries, and enthusiasts of all sorts." The account he gives of the dissenters is, "They have liberty and property to the full, and enjoy free and undisturbed exercise of their religion in all respects; they are capable of all posts in the civil and military lists, and have now actually a majority both in council, parliament, or assembly, and yet they are never to be satisfied till they can compass the downfall of this infant Church."²

¹ MS. Letters, vol. iv. l. 97.

² Ibid.

He seems to have laboured during the greater part of his residence abroad under severe bodily ailments, which prevented his active superintendence of the missions in the province; and he frequently complains of the straits to which he was reduced by an inadequate maintenance. He has, however, the credit of having composed in some degree the feuds and animosities which he found in the society of Charleston at his first coming.

Mr. Johnstone went to England for the benefit of his health, in 1712, and was absent eighteen months. He returned with an addition to his salary of 50*l.* from the Society; but he did not long enjoy it.

On the occasion of Governor Craven's embarking for England, the Commissary, with thirty others, went on board to take leave of him, and as they were returning, a sudden squall upset the boat. Nearly all escaped; but the Attorney-general, Mr. G. Evans, perished in his attempt to save himself by swimming; while Mr. Johnstone, who was infirm and unable to exert himself, was drowned in the hold of the vessel."¹

The Church—and indeed the entire British population in South Carolina—was well nigh destroyed at this time by a furious and exterminating invasion of the Yammonsee Indians; in the course of which the plantations were laid waste, and the colonists, without respect to age or sex, murdered. The Missionaries were exposed to peril of famine, as well as of the sword. As soon as intelligence of this disaster was brought to England, the Society—although the whole of its income for that year (1715) amounted to less than 1,600*l.*—determined at once to send them relief. Accordingly, a half-year's income was voted to each of the Missionaries and Schoolmasters, and a gratuity

¹ MS. Letters, vol. xi. p. 153.

of 20*l.* given to each of the other Clergymen officiating in the province, though not in the service of the Society.¹ Two French Huguenot ministers, MM. La Pierre and Richbourg, were also admitted to share the Society's bounty; each of them being allowed a grant of 30*l.* on account of the great losses they had sustained from the Indians, and the extreme distress to which, in consequence, they were reduced.²

After the death of Mr. Johnstone, no other Commissary was appointed till the year 1719, when the Rev. Alexander Garden was sent by the Bishop of London, with the same powers: he was immediately elected to the cure of the vacant parish of St. Philip's. These duties he continued to discharge for many years, during which he acquired both the respect and affection of the people by his piety, learning, and discretion. This character, it may be well to say, he did not acquire by any undue compliance with the prejudices of the people, or any relaxation of authority, as will appear more fully in the sequel.

At this period, and for many subsequent years, the Society assisted in the maintenance of ten Missionaries in this province, and we cannot doubt that they were, under God's blessing, the instruments of much and lasting good; but their lot, like that of most other ministers of Christ, was cast in obscure places, and there are no very remarkable events to give variety to the record of their useful labours. Year after year, indeed, they reported so many more added to Christ's flock in baptism, including generally a few negroes and Indians, and a growing number of such as had been brought to make the more solemn dedication of themselves at the table of the Lord.

¹ Journal, vol. iii. p. 72.

² Report for 1716.

Among the Missionaries who laid the foundations of the Church in this province, should be mentioned the Rev. Thomas Hasell, who went out as deacon in 1705, and was employed as catechist at Charleston, but, after his ordination as priest, in 1709, was appointed Missionary in St. Thomas's parish, where he remained in the discharge of his duties for the long space of thirty-five years. "He was," says Dalcho, "very successful in his mission, which he ascribed, under God, to the distribution of the Book of Common Prayer."¹

Another, the Rev. Lewis Jones, M.A., was the diligent and exemplary Missionary of St. Helena's for a space of twenty years, from 1725 to 1745. His parish was of great extent, "and the many islands and necks of land divided by rivers and creeks," rendered it impossible to gather all the people together for divine service, though he officiated in three several places. The consequence was, that dissenters crept in where the Church could not reach. Mr. Jones did not fail to represent to the Governor the evil arising from the enormous extent of parishes, but was answered, "that government thought it sufficient to afford the maintenance already given to ministers."

The hardship, to the individual, of so heavy a charge is touchingly alluded to in one of Mr. Jones's letters. Writing August 11, 1743, he says—

"Were this parish capable of being supplied in my absence, I had made use of the Society's leave to go for England about twelve years ago ; but the next neighbouring minister lives forty miles distant, and I think it by no means proper, especially at this time, that this parish should be left unsupplied. My inclinations, biassed by natural affection, would indulge me to go once and see my dear friends and relations, and take my final leave of

¹ Dalcho, p. 285.

them ; but duty calls me another way, and I must endeavour to rest contented.”¹

Mr. Jones, who had always lamented the want of schools, bequeathed at his death, in 1745, a legacy of 100*l.* sterling, to be placed at interest, for the support of a free-school at Beaufort. This school was established in 1749.

The Rev. William Guy, who had preceded Mr. Jones in the parish of St. Helena, was transferred to St. Andrew's in 1719, and continued there till his death in 1751. He is reported to have been diligent in the execution of his office, not confining himself to his own immediate people, but extending his ministrations to a considerable distance. So successful were his exertions, that the parishioners were induced to enlarge their church, while a subscription was raised for building a new one in a different part of the mission.

He was succeeded by the Rev. Charles Martyn, who reported the good disposition of the people towards the Church, exhibited by their liberality in effecting the necessary repairs, increasing the accommodation, and purchasing an organ. Returning to England on private business, in 1761, he attended a general meeting of the Society, and took occasion to resign the salary allowed to him as Missionary, on the honourable ground that the provision made for the minister of St. Andrew's by the parish was sufficient. He received in return the thanks of the Society, both for the diligent and faithful discharge of the duties of the mission, and for his noble conduct in foregoing the salary attached to it. This instance of disinterested generosity won, as it deserved, the approbation of Archbishop Secker, who, writing to the Rev. Dr. Johnson,

¹ Original Letters, vol. iv. p. 225.

President of King's College, New York, Dec. 10, 1761, says:—

“ Mr. Martyn, of St. Andrew's, in South Carolina, is come over hither, and hath very honourably told the Society that he thinks their salary of thirty pounds a-year may be better employed by them. I wish we had more such instances, where circumstances will allow them, and I cannot help thinking that the laity of our Church abroad are not so liberal to their ministers as they might be, and as those of other denominations, but lean too hard upon the Society.”¹

Mr. Martyn returned to his cure after a short absence, and finally resigned it in 1770.²

Another name that should be mentioned is that of the Rev. Robert Baron, Missionary at St. Bartholomew's, who succeeded not only in winning the affections of his parishioners during the eleven years of his residence among them, but was made the instrument of promoting their spiritual welfare. At his death, in 1764, he left the mission in a very prosperous condition, with seventy communicants.³

The Rev. James Harrison, a graduate of Queen's College, Oxford, was appointed to the parish of St. James, Gooscreek, in 1752, and continued to discharge the duties of it, as well as a single Missionary in so large a district could, for the space of twenty-three years, when he was removed to St. Bartholomew's.⁴ The *parish*, as it was called, of Gooscreek, extended 180 miles in length, and from ten to fourteen in breadth, and contained about two hundred families. The congregation consisted of about 150 whites, and from fifty to sixty negroes; while his communicants were thirty-one of the former, and twenty-six

¹ Chandler's Life of Rev. Dr. Johnson, p. 187.

² Dalcho, p. 342.

³ Ibid. p. 372.

⁴ Ibid. pp. 258 and 262.

of the latter class. He speaks of some who brought their children a distance of from eighty to two hundred miles, to be baptized.¹

Occasional instances are recorded, especially by Mr. Guy and Mr. Standish, of considerable sums being raised by the parishioners for the erection of a church, or parsonage-house, or the purchase of a glebe; but, in 1759, when the province had made great progress in wealth and population, an Act of Assembly was passed, by which a stipend of 100*l.* a-year was allowed to the officiating Minister of every parish where no mission was settled. The Society, in consequence, wisely determined not to fill up vacant missions, but to reserve its aid for poorer settlements. There were at this time twenty parishes with settled Clergymen. The total white population was 140,000; coloured, 108,000.

One department of the Society's labours should never be forgotten. During the whole period of its connexion with the American colonies, its attention was steadily directed to the instruction and improvement of the poor Africans. With this view, the Society gave special instructions to the Missionaries to press upon the Planters their duty towards the slaves whom they employed; and, to make this obligation more generally understood, printed and circulated, both at home and in the plantations, many thousand copies of Bishop Fleetwood's Sermon,² and Bishop Gibson's Pastoral Letters, upon the subject. The effect of these publications was to raise a fund for the instruction of the slaves; and the Society's Report for 1741 states, that "some thousands of negroes had been taught, and persuaded to embrace the truth as it is in Jesus Christ."

¹ Report for 1758.

² Preached on the Anniversary of the Society in 1711.

The principal school for their education in South Carolina was founded by Mr. Garden, at Charleston, in 1742; and his plan was to prepare negro youths, by a careful training, to be the instructors of their countrymen.

On occasion of his visit to England in 1746, besides stating that "he left all things relating to the Church and Clergy in South Carolina in good order," he reported that the "negro school had sent out twenty-eight children sufficiently instructed, according to the intention of that school, and that it was increased to the number of seventy—viz. fifty-five children taught of days, and fifteen grown slaves taught of evenings, when their day's work is over;" he added, moreover, "that he plainly perceived a very general and earnest desire among negro parents of having their children instructed, and also an emulation among many of them that are capable of instruction."¹ On his return to America, Mr. Garden informed the Society that the "school was full of children;" and again, in 1750, that it was going on with "all desirable success," having sent forth during the year "twenty scholars duly instructed." Thus, we may hope, some good was effected; and, at the least, the Church gave its public testimony to this branch of Christian duty, in the face of a government which, with 50,000 slaves, had not a single civil institution for their instruction or moral improvement. The Charleston school was continued after Mr. Garden's death, first by the Rev. Mr. Clark, and then by Mr., subsequently Bishop, Smith, but was finally discontinued in 1764, in consequence of the death of one of the native teachers, and the misconduct of the other.²

In 1754, Mr. Garden was impelled by increasing infirmities, and the natural desire of spending his last days in

¹ Report for 1747.

² Dalcho, p. 193.

his native country, to resign the rectory of St. Philip's; and the Vestry, on announcing his resignation to the Bishop of London, concluded their letter with the following honourable testimony to his character:—"We should be greatly wanting in duty should we omit to say, that Mr. Garden, during his residence of thirty years and more among us, has behaved with becoming piety, zeal, and candour, in his sacred character and function, which he hath exercised with unwearied labour and diligence, to the glory of God and the edification of souls; and we can with truth aver he hath been a good shepherd of Christ's flock."¹

But it would seem like an omission to conclude without some reference to his official conduct as Commissary.

The exercise of anything like discipline in the Colonial Church was, unhappily, very rare; yet Mr. Garden felt that it was his duty to cite Mr. Whitfield before the Ecclesiastical Court, for performing Divine Service without using the forms prescribed by the Church. After an appeal had been made, from the jurisdiction of the Court to the Lords Commissioners, as no prohibition from further proceedings was interposed, and Mr. Whitfield refused either to appear or put in any answer, a decree was passed for suspending him from the exercise of his functions.

Whatever be the right estimate of his zeal and earnestness as a preacher, it is plain that, as a Clergyman of the Church of England, he was bound, by the most solemn obligations, to conform to the Book of Common Prayer; and that no pretence of spiritual illumination could justify him in the violation of an ordinary duty. Nevertheless, he continued his eccentric course just as if no sentence had been passed.²

¹ Dalcho, p. 166.

² Spirit of Missions for October, New York, 1844.

But Mr. Garden was not content with condemning him in court. He was also ready to meet him in controversy, and accordingly published able replies to two of his letters; in the one of which Whitfield had attempted to vindicate his assertion, that "Archbishop Tillotson knew no more of Christianity than Mahomet;" and in the other had attacked what he considered the fundamental error of "The Whole Duty of Man."¹

Those who are desirous of fuller information on the subject of the rise and progress of the Church in this province, will, of course, consult a work to which we have more than once referred; namely, Dalcho's Historical Account of the Church in South Carolina. We may be permitted to conclude our brief notices in the words of that historian, referring to the labours of the Society in the North American colonies generally. He says:—"The exertions of this Society in the service of religion, deserve the warmest praise of every Christian, and the gratitude of every churchman in America."²

¹ Spirit of Missions for October, 1844.

² Dalcho, p. 194.

CHAPTER IV.

NORTH CAROLINA.

General Account of the Province—Commissary Blair—Classification of the People—Mr. Henderson Walker—Rev. John Urmston—Governor Eden—Rev. Giles Rainsford—Rev. W. Gordon and Rev. J. Adams—Rev. Thos. Newnam—Rev. John Boyd—Rev. James Moir—Rev. Clement Hall—His great Labours and Success—Rev. Alex. Stewart—Want of a Bishop—Rev. N. Christian.

THIS Province, 430 miles in length, by about 118 of average width, and containing, therefore, an area equal to that of all England, was but little explored, and but very thinly peopled, at the beginning of the last century. Indeed, the population of European descent, in 1702, is said not to have exceeded six thousand. They lived widely apart, scattered over the face of a country intersected by swamps and inlets of the sea. Roads, properly so called, there were none; and those who were compelled to pass from one part of the country to another, made their way as best they might, over rivers and through forests—happy, if at night they could find shelter in the rudest hut. Frequent notices will be found in the subjoined reports of the vast distances which the Missionaries were compelled to travel, and the hardships and privations which they had to endure.

The Rev. John Blair, who was originally employed as an itinerant Missionary by Lord Weymouth, and was afterwards appointed by the Bishop of London, Commissary for North Carolina, with an allowance of 50*l.* a-year from the

Society, gives the following account of his labours in that Province :—

“I was ordained in order to go to the Plantations, 12th April, 1703. I landed in Virginia, 14th January, 1704, and as soon as I could conveniently travel, I waited upon the governor, and immediately after made the best of my way into the country where I was bound.

“I arrived amongst the inhabitants, after a tedious and troublesome journey, on the 24th ditto ; I was then obliged to buy a couple of horses, which cost me fourteen pounds ; one of which was for a guide, because there is no possibility for a stranger to find his road in that country, for if he once goes astray (it being such a desert country) it's a great hazard if ever he finds his road again. Besides, there are mighty inconveniences in travelling there ; for the roads are not only deep and difficult to be found, but there are, likewise, seven great rivers in the country, over which there is no passing with horses, except two of them ; one of which the Quakers have settled a ferry over for their own convenience, and nobody but themselves have the privilege of it, so that at the passing over the rivers I was obliged either to borrow or hire horses, which was both troublesome and chargeable, inso-much that, in little more than two months, I was obliged to dispose of the necessaries I carried over for my own use to satisfy my creditors.

“I found in the country a great many children to be baptized, where I baptized about 100, and there are a great many still to be baptized whose parents would not condescend to have them baptized with godfathers and godmothers.

“I married none in the country, for that was a perquisite belonging to the magistrates which I was not desirous to deprive them of. I preached twice every Sunday, and often on the week days, when their vestries met, or could appoint them to bring their children to be baptized. They have built in the country three small churches and have three glebes.

“The country may be divided into four sorts of people :—1st. The Quakers, who are the most powerful enemies to church government, but a people very ignorant of what they profess ; a

second sort are a great many that have no religion, but would be Quakers, if by that they were not obliged to lead a more moral life than they are willing to comply to ; a third sort are something like Presbyterians, which sort is upheld by some idle fellows that have left their lawful employments, and preach and baptize through the country, without any manner of orders from any sect or pretended Church ; a fourth sort, who are really zealous for the interest of the Church, are the fewest in number, but the better sort of people, and would do very much for the settlement of the church government there, if not opposed by these three precedent sects ; and, although they be all three of different pretensions, yet they all concur together in one common cause, to prevent anything that will be chargeable to them, as they allege church government will be, if once established by law. And another great discouragement these poor people have, is a Governor who does not in the least countenance them in this business, but rather discourages them.

“ Besides such a solitary, toilsome, and hard living, as I met with, there were very sufficient discouragements. I was distant from any minister 120 miles, so that if any case of difficulty or doubt should happen, with whom should I consult ? And, for my travelling through the country, I rid, one day with another, Sunday only excepted, above thirty miles per diem, in the worst roads that ever I saw ; and have sometimes lain whole nights in the woods.

“ I will now endeavour to shew you how ineffectual a single man’s labours would be amongst so scattered a people. In the first place, suppose him minister of one precinct, (whereas, there are five in the country,) and this precinct, as they are all, bounded with two rivers, and those rivers at least twenty miles distant, without any inhabitants on the roads, for they plant only on the rivers, and they are planted in length upon these rivers at least twenty miles.¹ And to give all these inhabitants an opportunity of hearing a sermon, and bringing their children to be baptized, which must be on the sabbath, for they won’t spare time of another day, and must be in every ten miles distance, for five miles is the farthest that they will bring their children, or willingly

¹ The original is followed verbatim.

come themselves ; so that he must, to do his duty effectually, be ten or twelve weeks in making his progress through one precinct.

“ You may also consider the distance that the new colony of Pamplico is from the rest of the inhabitants of the country, for any man that has tried it would sooner undertake a voyage from this city to Holland than that ; for, besides a pond of five miles broad, and nothing to carry one over but small foroughs, there are above fifty miles desert to pass through, without any human creature inhabiting in it.”¹

In 1703, Mr. Henderson Walker wrote to the Bishop of London, that, to his own knowledge, the province of North Carolina had been for twenty-one years “ without priest or altar.”² The Quakers, who formed the most numerous party, resolutely opposed, here as elsewhere, every provision for the Church. In none of the States did the Missionaries undergo greater hardships from the dearness of provisions, the great extent of their cures, and the indifference or hostility of the people.

The Rev. John Urmston, writing to the Secretary, July 1711, says, “ I am at last, together with my family, in manifest danger of perishing for want of food ; we have lived many a day only on a dry crust and a draught of salt water out of the Sound, such regard have the people for my labours—so worthy of the favour the Society has shewn them in providing Missionaries and sending books.” Speaking of the difficulty of visiting the different parts of his Mission, he says, “ In many places, there are great rivers, from one, two, to six, twelve, and fifteen miles over, no ferry, neither will they be at the trouble of setting me over. He that will answer the end of his Mission, must not only have a good horse, but a good boat, and a couple of experienced watermen.” Then, referring to the straits

¹ Appendix to Journal, p. 48.

² MS. Letters, vol. i. 129.

to which the Clergy were reduced in that country, he says, —“Missioners, as the world goes, must be planters too, if they have families, or starve; the salary alone will not do. I am forced to work hard with axe, hoe, and spade. I have not a stick to burn for any use, but what I cut down with my own hands.” Many other letters are filled with complaints of the same sort. Indeed, a salary of 50% from the Society, with an uncertain allowance from the vestry,¹ paid, when paid at all, in bills which could only be disposed of at excessive discount, afforded but a sorry provision for a Missionary with a wife and family. The consequence was, that he was frequently involved in debt, and much of his influence and usefulness thus neutralized.

Mr. Urmston gives the following account of his Mission —“I have hitherto supplied three precincts, Chowan, Pequimans, and Pasquotank, which are very remote from one another; the most southerly place I preached at is above seventy miles distant from the most northerly; this hath been my circuit for the year last past, without any omission on my side; if I ever failed of officiating on the day appointed, it was for the want of a passage. So long as I was on terra firma, neither the badness of the roads, broken bridges over dangerous places, wet or cold weather in winter, nor the excessive heat, even to stifling in the woods for want of air, ever caused me to disappoint a congregation; albeit, they have often failed to meet me.” He had baptized, at the date of his letter, 154 children in the three precincts. The people were “mightily averse to godfathers and godmothers. They’ll not hearken to the ordinances of man, but will have express Scripture for all

¹ Mr. Urmston says that he was promised a house with 100% a-year, but that, in point of fact, he only received 30% in five years, and that in paper-money. MS. Letters, xii. p. 137.

they are to do or observe: there is not a schism or corruption broached in England, but here it hath its defenders.”¹

Lamentable as was this state of things in North Carolina, it seems only the natural consequence of leaving it almost entirely without the means of grace; and, on this point, it may be well to cite the impartial testimony of Governor Eden, addressed to the Secretary of the Society.

“Most honoured,—The lords proprietors of Carolina having thought fit to honour me with the government of the north part of their lordships’ province, I take leave (as I think it my duty) to remonstrate to you the deplorable state of religion in this poor province.

“It is now almost four months since I entered upon the government, where I found no clergyman upon the place except Mr. Urmston, one of your Missionaries, who is really an honest pains-taking gentleman, and worthy of your care, but, poor man! with utmost endeavours, is not able to serve one-half of the county of Albemarle, which adjoins to Virginia, whereas the county of Bath is of a much larger extent, and wholly destitute of any assistance. I cannot find but the people are well enough inclined to embrace all opportunities of attending the service of God, and to contribute, to the utmost of their ability, towards the support of such missionaries as you shall, in compassion to their circumstances, think fit to send amongst them; but our tedious Indian war has reduced the county so low, that without your nursing care the very footsteps of religion will, in a short time, be worn out, and those who retain any remembrance of it will be wholly led away by the Quakers; whereas a few of the clergy, of a complaisant temper and regular lives, would not only be the darlings of the people, but would be a means in time to recover those already seduced by Quakerism.

“This is what I thought myself under an indispensable obligation to lay before you, for your serious considerations.

¹ MS. Letters, vol. vii. pp. 365—71.

"There has been destroyed by the Indians, since the beginning of the war, above fourscore unbaptized infants, and there are a great number in the county of Bath, even to seven years old now, under that circumstance, for no other cause but want of opportunity, and, as yet, there are no Quakers in that county. The growth of their sect in it, I hope, the charitable care of your most honourable Society will effectually prevent. I wish I could be any ways instrumental in serving anything sent by you in these parts, whenever an opportunity offers; with great readiness I shall be glad to shew how much I am, most honourable gentlemen, your obedient and most humble servant.¹

"Oct. 8, 1717.

"CHARLES EDEN."

He further informed the Society that, notwithstanding their Missionary's utmost exertions, hundreds of children and others were unbaptized, and must so remain, unless more clergymen were sent amongst them.²

From time to time Mr. Urmston undertook a missionary visitation of his district. Thus, in 1716, he reports, that he had "visited all the corners of the colony, however obscure or inaccessible. I travelled," he says, "as soon as the heat of the summer was over, quite through the government from end to end, 100 miles southward beyond Neuse river, 60 westward of Virginia, and as far north-east. I baptized, in the last half-year, 279, whereof eleven adult, through the parents' neglect. I found the people of a temper, throughout the government, very indifferent as to religion."³

He continued in his Mission, struggling with his embarrassments, and vainly demanding of the vestry the payment of his dues, till the year 1721, when he returned to England.

The history of the Rev. Giles Rainsford is in many respects similar. He went out in 1712; and was stationed at

¹ MS. Letters, vol. x. p. 72.

² Ibid. xii. p. 118.

³ Ibid. xii. p. 140.

Chowan to take charge of the western shore. At his first service, many persons were present, "perfect strangers to the method of the worship of our Church." At an old Indian town on the north shore, great crowds attended, but expressed little devotion, and he baptized seventeen children of various ages. The following week he preached at one Mr. Garrat's, the upper end of Chowan, but had such numbers, that he was obliged to go under a great mulberry tree, where most of the people seemed very devout, ready in their responses, as well as in their method of singing praise to God.¹ "By much importunity," he says, "I prevailed on Mr. Martin to let me baptize three of his negroes. All the arguments I could make use of, would scarce effect it, till Bishop Fleetwood's sermon, preached before the Society, turned the scale."

Mr. Rainsford had several conferences with "one Thomas Hoyler, King of the Chowan Indians, who seemed very inclinable to embrace Christianity." He had some notions of Noah's flood, and thus spoke of the tradition:—"My father told me, I tell my son."² Mr. Rainsford states, that in one year he baptized no fewer than forty negroes.

Like his fellow-labourer Urmston, he complains bitterly of the vestry for the non-payment of his stipend, as well as of the many privations to which he was subjected in so wild and inhospitable a country as Carolina then was. For instance, he says, "My lodging, for the best of my time, in this government was in an old tobacco-house, and exposed, even in my bed, to the injuries and violence of bad weather, with infinite other inconveniences, only to settle myself where I thought I had an opportunity of

¹ MS. Letters, vol. vii. p. 417.

² Ibid. vii. p. 418.

doing most good." In 1714, he abandoned his Mission, in consequence of being unable longer to undergo the fatigues of an itinerant mission.¹

The Rev. William Gordon and the Rev. James Adams went out together as itinerant Missionaries to North Carolina, in 1707. From the former, we have a few characteristic features of this colony. Chowan was the largest and most thinly peopled district. Of the inhabitants, "few could read, and fewer write, even of the justices of the peace and vestrymen, yet they seemed serious and well-disposed to receive instruction." He baptized in the year of his residence, 100 children, and found the means of overcoming the very prevalent objection to the use of sponsors. In Paquimans the Quakers were "very numerous, extremely ignorant, insufferably proud, ambitious, and consequently ungovernable." They redoubled their exertions on his arrival, and violently opposed all his measures. In both precincts, the manner of living was similar. The water was brackish and muddy; their ordinary food "was salt pork, but sometimes beef; their bread, of Indian corn, which they were forced for want of mills to beat, and in this they were so careless and uncleanly, that there was but little difference between the corn in the horse-manger, and the bread on their tables. In this, as in all other parts of the province, there was no money; every one buying and paying with his own commodities, of which corn, pork, pitch, and tar, were the chief."² Mr. Gordon did not remain in the country more than a year, being forced to return, as he says, against both his "design and inclinations, by the distractions of the people, and the other inconveniences in that colony."

Mr. Adams writes, Oct. 4, 1709, that on his first arrival in

¹ MS. Letters, vol. ix. p. 273.

² MS. Letters, vol. iv. l. 105.

Pasquotank, he "found the government in the hands of such persons as were promoters of God's service and good order;" but that the Quakers soon stirred up all the ignorant and irreligious against them, and that encouragement and civility were succeeded by reproaches and ill-usage. He adds, "The abuses and contumelies I meet with in my own person, are but small troubles to me in respect of that great grief of hearing the most sacred parts of religion impiously profaned and ridiculed. We had a Communion lately, and the looser sort at their drunken revellings and cabals spare not to give about their bread and drink in the words of administration, to bring in contempt that most holy Sacrament, and in derision of those few good persons who then received it."¹ On the other hand, the support he received from his congregation was miserably insufficient, not so much as to pay for "his diet and lodging," while his duties were very heavy. "I have," he says, "a very laborious Mission; the places I preach at being, some of them, sixty, others above seventy miles distant. I bless the Lord, I have had my health well; and I pray God to give me his grace so to direct my ways in this troublesome and unsettled country, as not only to acquit myself with applause to those good men who sent me, but that I may be likewise able to give a comfortable account of my stewardship at that dreadful tribunal, where the secrets of all hearts shall be disclosed." He had baptized, since his arrival, 213 children and two adults; but though, out of a population of 1332, there were 211 negroes, some few of whom were instructed in the principles of the Christian religion, it is humiliating to read, "that their masters would by no means permit them to be baptized, having a false notion that a christened slave is by law free."²

¹ MS. Letters, vol. v. l. 102.

² Ibid. v. l. 102.

Six months afterwards, March 27, 1710, he still speaks of the deplorable condition of the country morally, and goes on to say, "Nothing but my true concern for so many poor souls, scattered abroad as sheep having no shepherd, and my duty to those good men who reposed this trust in me, could have prevailed upon me to stay in so barbarous and disorderly place as this now is, where I have undergone a world of trouble and misery both in body and mind.¹ I have struggled these two years with a lawless and barbarous people, in general, and endure more, I believe, than any of the Society's Missionaries ever has done before me. I am not able, as the country now is, to endure much longer, but intend, God willing, next summer or fall, to set out for Europe."

His labour, however, was not in vain. As soon as his intention of resigning his Mission became known, the vestry of Carotuck and Colonel Glover wrote thus to the Society:—

"Mr. Adams, during his abode among us, hath behaved himself, in all respects, worthy the character of a minister, exemplary in his life, and blameless in his conversation; and now being bound for England, we, with sorrowful hearts, and true love and affection, take our leave of him. We shall ever bless that providence that placed him among us, and should be very unjust to his character if we did not give him the testimony of a pious and painful pastor, whose sweetness of temper, diligence in his calling, and soundness of doctrine, hath so much conduced to promote the great end of his mission, that we hope the good seed God hath enabled him to sow, will bear fruit upwards." Similar testimony was given by the vestry of Pasquotank, who concluded by saying, "As for the diffi-

¹ MS. Letters, vol. v. 137, 138.

culties he met with, he hath waded through them all, under the vigilant eyes of the malicious enemy, without committing anything unbecoming a minister of Christ." But Mr. Adams was not permitted to return to his native land; before he could embark, he fell sick, and died in Carolina.¹

The Rev. Thomas Newnam was sent as a Missionary to this province, towards the close of the year 1721. The subjoined letter² gives a full account of the laborious nature of his duties, in consequence of the great distances which he had to travel.

"North Carolina, June 29, 1722.

"To the Secretary.

"Sir,—After a long and fatiguing voyage of above four months, from December the 1st to April 10th, myself and little family (blessed be God) are safe arrived at Carolina. The late Governor Eden being dead, I thought it my duty then to wait upon the President, (who is a very worthy gentleman,) and communicate my affairs to him; he read my credentials, declared himself well satisfied, and received us with all imaginable respect. He has settled me where I hope to be able to do abundance of good; as for labour, I shall spare none, (God granting me health,) as is evident from the journeys the vestrymen have already laid out for me. The first Sunday I preach, going by water and land some few miles, at Esquire Duckenfield's house, large enough to hold a great congregation till we have built a church, which is hereafter to be called Society Church, and, in order to it, we are now making a collection through the whole parish. The second Sunday, I take a journey up to a place called Maherin, about forty miles off, where there are abundance of inhabitants, who also are making a collection to build a chapel forthwith. Third Sunday, I perform divine service again at Esquire Duckenfield's. Fourth Sunday, I go up to a place called Wicacon, about thirty

¹ Humphreys' Historical Account, p. 136.

² MS. Letters, vol. xvi. p. 92.

miles' journey. Fifth Sunday, I cross the Sound to go to Eden Town, where the vestry there have also purposed to have a church built out of hand. Sixth Sunday, I go to the chapel on the south shore, about twelve miles by water ; and so the seventh Sunday begin *ut suprâ*, except once every quarter I go up to a place called Ronoke, about eighty miles' journey, and the five last Sundays of the year the vestries do give me that I may go my rounds, and visit the remote parts of the country, where the inhabitants live some 150 miles off, people who will scarce ever have the opportunity of hearing me or having their children baptized, unless I go to and amongst them. The people in general are well pleased with my coming, and are not willing to lose any opportunity of being instructed, for all our congregations are very full and numerous ; they are, indeed, (I mean the inferior sort,) very ignorant, and, by consequence, liable to any impression made upon them ; but, at present, we are not apprehensive of any danger of their being seduced or brought over to any sect, because we have very few Dissenters of any sort amongst us. There are some scattering Quakers about us, but I hope there will never be such a number of them as able to do the least mischief. As for Roman Catholics, we have not, I believe, of that persuasion, twelve in the government. So that, with care and pains, I am now in great hopes we shall ever have the Liturgy of the Church of England perfectly established amongst us, without interruption from any quarters by sectaries of any kind whatsoever. The Indians at present are not very numerous, not exceeding 300 fighting men. They live in two towns by themselves, very quiet and peaceable ; but as to the converting them to the Christian faith, it is a thing that I almost despair of ever seeing effected whilst amongst them. The number I have baptized are 193, five of which were adult persons, at least twenty years of age, and two of which were married women. As to marriages, I have but little business in this affair, by reason people live at a great distance from me, and cannot afford time, as well as expense, to wait upon me, so that they go to the justices of the peace in their neighbourhoods, who are, by an act of Assembly, privileged to perform that office. As to burials, we have but very few, and those I cannot always conveniently attend, being sometimes sixty, eighty, or a hundred

miles off. This is all the account that can at present be given of our ecclesiastical constitution here, by,

“ Sir, your most obedient and humble servant,

“ THOMAS NEWMAM.

“ My humble duty to the Society.”¹

The following year, 9th of May, 1723, he informs the Society that he and his family had been suffering severely from the fever of the country; that he had, however, resumed his journeys, and had baptized 269 persons; and that he proposed immediately to set out for Bath county, where 300 children were waiting for baptism. But his labours and exposure in all weathers brought on severe illness, under which he sunk, in 1723, much to the grief of his people.

In 1732, Mr. John Boyd, who had lived some years in this province, came to England, and applied to the Society for a Missionary appointment. He was ordained by the Bishop of London, and, “having read prayers, and preached to the satisfaction of the persons desired by his lordship to hear him,” was formally appointed to his mission in North Carolina.² In one of his communications to the Society, he states that the parish in which he resided, north-west parish, Albemarle county, was one hundred miles in length, and fifty in breadth; that he had to preach in seven different places, which compelled him to ride 260 miles every month. This will convey some idea of the painful destitution of the means of grace in which great part of the settlers must have lived. The duty of many clergymen was laid upon one, who was of course unable to meet the requirements of so extensive a district. Even one, however, could do something, and was at least a witness to the colonists that they were not altogether forgotten by the

¹ MS. Letters, vol. xvi. p. 92.

² Journal, vol. vi. p. 42.

mother Church. In 1735, he had baptized 1000 children, and thirty adults.¹ He seems, also, to have been the means of bringing back a number of "misled anabaptists" to the communion of the Church, which he says he effected "by sending for their teachers, and convincing them," so that, "through God's blessing, a great many who professed that sect had left their meetings and become his constant hearers."² Mr. Boyd died in 1738.

The Rev. James Moir, on the recommendation of the Commissary and Clergy of South Carolina, among whom he had lived six years, was ordained Missionary for the northern province, in 1739. His Mission, which was on the north-west of the Neuse, extended along 150 miles of coast, and the inhabitants were so scattered that it was impossible for one person to meet, in any adequate degree, their religious wants. The most that he could do was to visit them periodically, preach the Word, and administer the rites and sacraments of the Church. The number of children baptized in every such missionary journey was very considerable. Mr. Moir reports that he could not always make an exact computation, but that sometimes it was not fewer than one hundred in a day; and Mr. Garzia, another Missionary, states, that within the period from 1733 to 1738, during which he had served the parish of St. Thomas, at an annual stipend—promised, but not paid—of 20*l.*, he had baptized 2,278 persons. Both these Missionaries complain, with obvious justice, of the ungenerous treatment which they experienced at the hands of the vestries. The Society's allowance of 50*l.* a-year was designed to aid in the support of a Clergyman, and was properly enough called an "encouragement." His *main* dependence was to be upon his congregation; yet not only was a very

¹ Journal, vol. vi. p. 285.

² Ibid. vii. p. 256.

insufficient stipend for the most part awarded—while burdens greater than his strength were laid upon him—but payment was irregularly made, and then frequently in rice, or a depreciated paper currency, and he was subject to the humiliation of a yearly renewal of covenant; while *hiring* was the word applied by the vestry to the act by which they secured for themselves the services of an ordained minister.

“It is now near four years,” says Mr. Moir, “since I came to settle in this province; and though I have undergone many hardships in travelling upon account of my office, yet they don’t discover the least inclination to find a convenient house for me, nor pasture for my horses, which are a very uncertain possession here, as being apt to stray, when not stolen. The badness of the climate, together with my often wandering by land and water, have very much impaired my health, and, I’m afraid, quite ruined my constitution.”¹

He continued, however, for many years in the discharge of his Missionary duties, frequently, and, it would appear, not unjustly complaining of the scanty maintenance afforded to him by the vestry; but not without subjecting himself to the charge of being influenced by a covetous and secular spirit.

Rather more than one hundred years ago, CLEMENT HALL was appointed itinerant Missionary in North Carolina. He had been in the commission of the peace for that province, and for several years, in the absence of a duly ordained clergyman, had officiated, by appointment of the vestry, as public reader. In 1743, he came to England, and laid before the Society letters signed by the Attorney-general, Sheriffs, and Clergy of the province, all testifying

¹ Original Letters, vol. iv. p. 201.

to his "very good repute, life, and conversation." Mr. Hall, having expressed an anxious desire to enter the ministry of the Church, with a view to the more effectual furtherance of the Gospel in North Carolina, was recommended by the Society to the Lord Bishop of London, and, being approved, was admitted to holy orders. The stipend allowed was 30*l.* a-year, and a small library of theological books was entrusted to him for the use of the Mission. Immediately after his ordination, he returned to the colony, where, after a tedious passage of fourteen weeks, during which he regularly performed divine service on board the vessel, he arrived on the 29th November, 1744.

In his first letter, dated February 27, 1745, he states that there was neither church nor glebe in that part of the country; that he had agreed with the vestry to settle in Chowan county, near Edenton; to officiate in the courthouse (till the church was built) two Sundays, and on the third at a station between thirty and forty miles distant. In that county there were few dissenters, but many in Paquimans and Pasquotank, especially Quakers, "who were guilty of railing, even in public, against the Church and ministers." There were, however, "several religious churchmen to be found, and the common people were naturally teachable and ingenious."¹

Six months later, but still before the completion of his first year in the Mission, he writes: "In May last I rode throughout my Mission, and dispersed the small tracts, for which the people return the Society hearty thanks. I went farther, and in more places, than any Missionary had done before; I preached sixteen times, baptized above four hundred children and twenty adults, within the four counties, in three weeks' time. The congregations were very

¹ Original Letters, vol. vi. p. 672.

numerous, and the people behaved exceedingly well; and it moves me with great compassion towards them to see the harvest so great and the labourers so few, there being none (as I know of) but Mr. Moir and myself in this vast and now populous country—that are settled. . . Since my arrival, I have baptized, in all, 780, and thirty-six adult persons, one of which was brought up in Quakerism, and ten out of the number were negro slaves.”¹

Mr. Hall was in the habit of undertaking a journey through both the northern and southern divisions of his mission at regular intervals. Each visitation, the one in the spring and the other in the “fall,” commonly occupied him from three weeks to a month. In 1748, he says: “The congregations were more numerous in Carotuck than heretofore. We were obliged, three several times, to perform divine service under the shady trees; the chapels or court-house being not large enough to contain one-half of the people.”²

The next year a report reaches him, “that a Bishop (who is much wanted, and by all good men earnestly desired) is about to be sent over and settled in Virginia,” and he anxiously asks to be informed whether the report were true.

To show at once the great want of clergymen in the province, and the untiring exertions of Mr. Hall to supply this lack of service, it may be mentioned that, in 1749, he speaks of having been “at a very remote place, toward the sea-side,” where he baptized ninety-seven in one day, several of whom, however, he adds, “were grown-up, not having opportunity before.”³

It may be worth while to quote at some length his letter

¹ Original Letters, vol. vi. p. 668.

² Ibid. vol. ix. p. 124.

³ Ibid. vol. x. p. 165.

of May 21, 1750, as giving a fair account of his labours and success in the southern part of the Mission.

It is as follows:—

“In Easter-week I set off, and journeyed about 427 miles through my south Mission, and in about thirty days preached nineteen sermons, baptized about 425 white, and forty-seven black children, three white and eleven black adults, whom, upon examination, I found worthy, and administered the holy sacrament of the Lord’s Supper to about 235 communicants. The congregations were numerous, notwithstanding that many came very far, and some of the days there were continual rains. The people generally behaved very devout and orderly; and, through God’s blessing upon my diligent though weak endeavours, I have the pleasure to find and learn, that there is a visible appearance of their great and earnest desires to seek after and to serve God, and good affection to our gracious Sovereign and the national Church; though I must, with grief and regret, own that the established religion is much obstructed and discredited by some sectaries, by our present unhappy divisions between the northern and southern parts, and much more by the notorious evil lives of irreligious and profane professors, from whom I often meet with great trouble and disquiet, wrongs and abuses, which, with my continual labours and journeyings, &c., have several times reduced me to a low state of health and strength. . . Colonel Lovick, a gentleman that dwells in the southern parts, tells me that they have not had a Missionary among them, to baptize their children, for several years, and that the ignorant people fall away to the Quakers lately settled there. I think there are now about eighteen large counties in this extensive province, some of which are divided into two parishes, and but about five episcopal ministers in the whole.”¹

In many of his letters, Mr. Hall speaks of his bad state of health, and of a disorder which rendered travelling both painful and inconvenient. This, combined with the rude

¹ Original Letters, vol. xi. p. 169.

and uncultivated state of the country, the want of all decent accommodation, the unhealthiness of the climate, and “many difficulties and discouragements from irreligious, gainsaying people,”¹ must have rendered the duty of a Missionary in Carolina a hundred years ago as arduous as any that could be undertaken for Christ’s sake. And when it is considered, that those who were thus spending their strength in the wilderness, with so much to do and to endure, were supported by no temporal consolations—no sympathy of friends—no companionship of brethren—and were, moreover, often condemned to struggle with poverty and want—we can hardly sufficiently admire the constancy which they exhibited, and the patience and perseverance which characterized their obscure but most important labours.

Mr. Hall writes, October 16, 1751:—

“By God’s gracious assistance, I have been journeying about 557 miles in my Mission in thirty-six days; preached twenty-five sermons to as many very large congregations; churched about 146 well-disposed women; administered the holy sacrament of the Lord’s Supper to about 248 communicants; and baptized about 536 white, and eighteen black children, and two black adults, after proper examination; and performed several other ministerial duties, to the great satisfaction of the people in general.”²

In 1752, he gives the following summary of his labours:—

“I have now, through God’s gracious assistance and blessing, in about seven or eight years, though frequently visited with sickness, been enabled to perform (for aught I know) as great ministerial duties as any Clergyman in North America: viz. to journey about 14,000 miles, preach about 675 sermons, baptize

¹ Original Letters, vol. xii. p. 125.

² Ibid. p. 128.

about 5,783 white children, 243 black children, 57 white adults, and about 112 black adults,—in all, 6,195 persons ; sometimes administer the holy sacrament of the Lord's Supper to two or three hundred communicants, in one journey, besides churching of women, visiting the sick," &c.

These unremitting exertions were gradually wearing him out, and he adds, at the close of this letter :

" I have reason to believe that my health and constitution are much impaired and broken, by reason of my continual labours in my office, and also from the injurious treatment I have often received from the adversaries of our Church and Constitution ; for which I do, and pray God to, forgive them, and turn their hearts." ¹

He continued, however, to discharge the duties of his itinerant Mission for four years more, travelling, on the average, 2,200 miles a-year, when sickness and increasing age compelled him to look for a less extensive sphere of labour, and he accordingly applied, in 1755, for the appointment to a settled Mission in St. Paul's parish. This was readily granted by the Society, and was accepted as a welcome relief, though the Mission still comprised one large county. Before, however, intelligence of it could reach him, he was sorely tried by a loss altogether unexpected. His house, with the greater part of his property, including books, sermons, and clothes, was destroyed by fire. The Society, on hearing of this calamity, voted him a grant of 30%, and a new library for the use of the Mission. But Mr. Hall's labours and troubles were now drawing to a close. His health had for some years been declining, when death released him from further suffering, in 1759.

¹ Original Letters, vol. xiii. p. 133.

Seldom, probably, has there been a more devoted or laborious Missionary than Clement Hall. He was, for twelve years, the only authorized Minister of God's word and sacraments through several hundred miles of country; and it may serve as a measure of the services performed by him, to mention the fact that he baptized 10,000 persons. Many a Missionary to the heathen has acquired a greater reputation at much less cost.

The letters of the Missionaries from this, as from every other colony, are principally occupied with details relative to the state and progress of religion in their several parishes. By a rule of the Society¹ they were required to send home, every six months, a "*notitia parochialis*," which was drawn up so as to show the ecclesiastical census of the people, and the half-yearly return of baptisms, marriages, and burials. It would be unnecessarily tedious to enter into these minute particulars in a work like the present. It may suffice to remark, that almost every statement of persons baptized comprises some negroes, and occasionally a few Indians.

There seems to have been but little attention paid to education in any part of the province, and seldom, therefore, is mention made of schools. Books, indeed, and tracts were sent over by the Society to every Mission, and distributed in places where they were most wanted; and great pains were taken to instruct adults, both white and coloured, previous to baptism and admission to the holy Communion. Visits, too, were from time to time made to the Indian settlements.

Thus the Rev. Alexander Stewart reports a journey which he made to Aramuskeet, part of Hyde county, and 120 miles distant from his Mission at Bath-Town.

¹ See Appendix D.

That part of the county is a peninsula, or rather island, for three parts of the year, and can be entered by foot-passengers only in the height of summer. It contained twelve families of Indians, who lived interspersed among the white people, and had adopted their customs, but still had their own king. With these people, in all about 200, Mr. Stewart remained a week, praying, preaching, and administering the rites of the Church. During his stay he baptized fifteen white and fifteen negro children, as well as three Indian mulatto youths, who repeated to him the Creed, the Lord's Prayer, and the Ten Commandments. He also administered the sacrament of the Lord's Supper to thirty persons, of whom three were free negroes. Mr. Stewart estimated the number of inhabitants within his Mission at 2,000, of whom 1,700 were members of the Church, and 235 actual communicants. He was in the habit of officiating in thirteen different chapels. At the period now referred to (1762), Arthur Dobbs, Esq. was governor of North Carolina, and took a warm interest in the affairs of the Church. He joined his voice to that of many whose names have been cited, to demand the appointment of a Bishop, for everywhere he saw the rites of the Church in abeyance: the chapels unconsecrated—the catechumens unconfirmed—all wholesome discipline abandoned—and the Clergy left to the mercy of vulgar and tyrannical vestries. Nor must it be concealed that cases occurred of Clergymen dishonouring their holy calling by immorality, or neglect of their cures; and so, on every ground, whether of duties to be performed, or of disorders to be repressed, the presence of a Bishop seems to have been urgently needed.

Writing on the 29th March, 1764, the governor reported that there were at that time only six Clergymen

to do duty in twenty-nine counties, or parishes; and that such was likely to be the case where they had "no Bishops to visit the Clergy, and to confirm, and confer orders."

He calculates the entire population, including 10,000 negroes, at upwards of 100,000; but complains that there are few or no schools for the education of youth, and adds—"When this is considered, and the increasing British empire on this continent, I am convinced that his Lordship of London will willingly part with so great a part of his diocese, and join in soliciting to procure Bishops to ordain and visit the Clergy."¹

One of the Society's Missionaries, the Rev. Charles Cupples, writes in the same strain from Bute county:—

"We have a few dissenters here, of such as are generally called ranting Anabaptists, but they have of late mightily decreased, and generally attend the public worship in the Church; and I am fully persuaded that, if we could have a Bishop here in America to inspect the Clergy, and carry on the discipline of the Church towards offenders, dissension would soon, by the blessing of God, be at an end."²

Another Missionary, the Rev. John Barnett, gives a practical instance of the same want:—

"On Whit-Tuesday (he says) I dedicated St. Philip's Church. . . . Being wholly unacquainted with a proper form or mode of dedication, I wrote to several Clergymen for their advice, but not one could give me the least information. I then drew up a form, which was approved by his Excellency and the Council, and, indeed, gave an universal satisfaction."³

Enough, perhaps, has already been said to show the vast extent of district over which the Missionaries were

¹ Original Letters, vol. xiv. l. 185.

² Ibid. l. 34.

³ Ibid. l. 38.

called upon to travel; but the following simple statement of the Rev. T. S. Drage (Feb. 1771) may be added:—

“The place where I reside is named Salisbury, in the county of Rowan, 300 miles distant from the seat of government, and near 400 from the sea,—fine air, temperate climate, and a fertile country. . . I found the people of the Church of England disheartened, and dispersed like sheep, but have collected them into about forty congregations, or have as many preaching places where I meet them, consisting, on a moderate calculation, of 7,000 souls, men, women, and children, or 900 families, inhabiting a country 180 miles in length, and 120 in breadth.”¹

In the course of two years he had baptized 802 persons, of ages varying from infancy to sixty years. The neglect of baptism, owing, doubtless, in the first instance, to the want of Clergy, and afterwards to that indifference which was the consequence, was fearfully general throughout America. It was, however, remedied to some extent wherever the Clergy got a footing. A Missionary, Mr. Reed, had the satisfaction of baptizing the chief justice of the province.

One only instance more shall be adduced of the laborious nature of a Missionary's duty, arising not only from the immense tract of country assigned to him, but also from the difficulty of traversing it.

The Rev. N. Christian attended to perform divine service at five places—two of them nearly thirty miles distant from the town of Brunswick, where he resided, and the three others more than forty miles—“the roads exceeding bad, especially to Waccamaw, there being upwards of twelve swamps to cross, some of which are so deep that horses are frequently up to the saddle in crossing them.”²

The time had now arrived when, in addition to all the

¹ Original Letters, vol. xiv. l. 21.

² Ibid. l. 211.

hardships inseparable from their position, they were to be subjected to persecution in consequence of the war of parties.

Writing on the 30th August, 1775, Mr. Earl says :—

“ The situation of the Clergy in this part of the world is truly critical. . . Some of them have been suspended, deprived of their salaries, and, in the American manner, proscribed by the committees, and thereby rendered incapable of getting a settlement in any part of the united colonies ; and all this on account of charges against them of opposing the general cause of America. How far they are to blame I am not able to determine, but verily believe that, if the most learned and eloquent divine in England was to endeavour to dissuade the Americans from their present resolutions, he would make no impression upon them, but, contrariwise, rather inflame them, so tenacious are they of the measures adopted.”¹

¹ Original Letters, vol. xiv. l. 128.

CHAPTER V.

GEORGIA.

Foundation of the Colony—The Saltzburg Emigrants—Rev. John Wesley—His strict Observances—Catechising—Expenses for one Year—Appeal to the Commissary—South Carolina Clergy—Performs Service in French, Italian, and German—His Sunday's Occupation—Reason for leaving Georgia—Embarks for England—Passes Whitfield in the Downs—Whitfield's Preaching in America—His Orphan House—Rev. W. Morris—Rev. Mr. Zouberbugler—Rev. Jonathan Copp—Province divided into Parishes—Rev. Samuel Frink—Rev. Edward Ellington—Takes charge of the Orphan House—Want of Churches—Gross Ignorance of the Settlers—Want of a Bishop—Ecclesiastical Returns of Savannah.

THE colony of Georgia, projected with much political wisdom as a barrier for the southern states against the encroachments of the Spaniards, was established in the year 1733. It was the last colony founded by Great Britain in America. The administration of it was committed, for a limited time, to a corporation of trustees; one of whom, General Oglethorpe, an active and enterprising man, went out with the first body of colonists, and, immediately after his arrival, proceeded to lay the foundation of the city of Savannah.¹ Two years after-

¹ The device upon the public seal was, "the Genius of the colony seated between the two rivers which were its boundaries, with the cap of liberty on his head, a spear in one hand and the cornucopia in the other—on the reverse were some silk-worms at their work, with the words, *Non sibi sed aliis*, for their motto;" a motto which must be heartily adopted by every true Missionary.—Southey's Life of Wesley, vol. i. p. 88.

wards a large and important addition was made to the settlement, by the immigration of a body of German Protestants, who were expelled from the province of Salzburg, on account of religion. About two hundred of these exiles (who altogether amounted to 25,000, or a tenth of the whole population) embarked for Georgia, in four transports, which they were enabled to equip by the liberality of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, a society which continued to supply them with funds for the support of their schools till the separation of the American Colonies from Great Britain.

The Saltzburghers—"colonists," says Southey,¹ "of the best description"—named their settlement, Ebenezer.²

The Trustees of the new colony rightly considered it a part of their duty to provide for the pastoral superintendence of their settlers, as well as for the instruction and conversion of the natives; and, in looking out for clergymen duly qualified for the discharge of this important duty, their attention was naturally directed to the Rev. John Wesley and his companions at Oxford. These men had acquired celebrity, without seeking it, by their self-denial, the regularity of their lives, and their charity to the suffering and afflicted. Dr. Burton, at that time President of Corpus Christi College, was one of the trustees, and, being

¹ Life of Wesley, vol. i. p. 87.

² "In the evening we came to New-Ebenezer, where the poor Saltzburghers are settled. The industry of this people is quite surprising. Their sixty huts are neatly and regularly built, and all the little spots of ground between them improved to the best advantage. On one side of the town is a field of Indian corn; on the other are plantations of several private persons; all which, together, one would scarce think it possible for a handful of people to have done in one year."—Wesley's Journal, July 27, 1737.

Whitfield gives an equally favourable account of their settlement, and adds, "They are blest with two such pious ministers as I have not often seen."—Life of Wesley, vol. i. p. 87.

well acquainted with Mr. Wesley, introduced him to General Oglethorpe, who at once proposed to him the mission to Georgia. Wesley at first declined the offer, partly on the ground that his acceptance of it would be a sore grief to his mother; but when, on the question being referred to her, that noble-minded woman answered, "Had I twenty sons, I should rejoice that they were all so employed, though I should never see them more," his objections were overcome, and he consented to go. None of his biographers mention the circumstance of his having been formally proposed to the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, and approved by that Society, as Missionary to Georgia. Yet such was undoubtedly the case, as appears by the following entry in its journal of Jan. 16, 1736:—

"A memorial of the trustees for establishing the colony of Georgia in America was read, setting forth that the Rev. Mr. Samuel Quincy, to whom the Society had been pleased, upon their recommendation, to allow a salary of fifty pounds per annum, has by letter certified to the said trustees, that he is desirous of leaving the colony of Georgia, and returning home to England in the month of March next, to which they have agreed; and the said trustees recommend the Rev. Mr. John Wesley to the Society, that they would allow to him the said fifty pounds per annum, from the time Mr. Quincy shall leave the said colony, in the same manner Mr. Quincy had it. Agreed, that the Society do approve of Mr. Wesley as a proper person to be a missionary at Georgia, and that fifty pounds per annum be allowed to Mr. Wesley from the time Mr. Quincy's salary shall cease."¹

Unlike many, who, though at heart really devoted to their Great Master's service, have yet felt the full sacrifice they were making in leaving home and kindred, to preach the Gospel in strange lands, Wesley regarded the mission

¹ Journal, vol. vi. p. 305.

to America as a favourable opportunity for withdrawing from the temptations of the world, and reducing his ascetic principles to practice. His reply to a scoffer, who taunted him with the Quixotism of his project, and the madness of leaving a good provision for life and the prospect of preferment, for the purpose of converting savages in America, deserves a place in every history of Missions.—“Sir,” he said, “if the Bible be not true, I am as very a fool and madman as you can conceive; but if it be of God, I am sober-minded. For He has declared, ‘There is no man that hath left house, or parents, or brethren, or wife, or children, for the kingdom of God’s sake, who shall not receive manifold more in this present time, and in the world to come life everlasting.’”¹ His principal motive in undertaking the mission was, as he himself stated in writing to a friend, October 10, 1735, “the hope of saving his own soul.” He hoped to learn the true sense of the Gospel of Christ by preaching it to the heathen. “They have no comments,” said he, “to construe away the text.” Even his short experience, however, in America, sufficed to convince him of his error in supposing that he should find the Indians predisposed and ready to receive the truth. With his friends Delamotte and Ingham, he embarked at Gravesend on the 14th of October, 1735. They submitted themselves to a singularly severe rule of life during the voyage, allotting each hour to its appropriate duty of public and private prayer, study, and the instruction and exhortation of the crew. After nearly four months so spent, they anchored in the Savannah River on the 5th of February, 1736.—“On the following morning they landed on a small uninhabited island, where Mr. Oglethorpe led them to a rising ground, and they all knelt and returned

¹ St. Luke xviii. 29, 30.

thanks to God for having arrived in safety.”¹ No sooner had Wesley entered upon his Missionary work, than he found that the bad examples of his countrymen were a serious obstacle to the conversion of the natives. The fraud, violence, and drunkenness of professed Christians, were, as the poor heathen would judge, the fruits of Christianity, and it is no wonder, therefore, that they were prejudiced against it. With his European congregation, Wesley insisted on an exact compliance with the rubric.² He baptized children by immersion, allowed none but communicants to be sponsors, catechised the children after the second lesson in the afternoon, refused the sacrament of the Lord’s Supper to Dissenters, unless previously admitted into the Church, and would not read the funeral service over any who had not been duly baptized.

Together with this strict discipline of the Church, however, Wesley introduced certain other supplementary practices, which seem rather to belong to the system which he afterwards established. He formed the more serious members of his flock into a little society, who agreed to meet once or twice during the week, for the purposes of mutual edification, and from these, again, he selected a smaller number for closer spiritual communion.

In all this, it will be seen, he was acting as the Minister of an English congregation; and although he made several attempts to leave Savannah, with a view of preaching the Gospel to the Indians, his design was always frustrated.

¹ Southey’s Life of Wesley, vol. i. p. 89.

² “Sunday, March 14, 1736.—Having before given notice of my design to do so, every Sunday and holiday, according to the rules of our Church, I administered the Holy Communion to eighteen persons.”—*Wesley’s Journal*.

“Saturday, Feb. 21, 1736.—Mary Welch, aged eleven days, was baptized according to the custom of the first Church, and the rule of the Church of England, by immersion.”—*Ibid*.

As Savannah was one of the places to which a Parochial Library had been sent by Dr. Bray's Associates, Mr. Wesley wrote home in January, 1737, to report the progress that had been made in catechising and instructing the young. A daily school was taught by a Catechist, who, in the evening, instructed the older children, and on Saturday afternoon, as well as on Sunday, before evening service, Mr. Wesley catechised them all. "And," he adds, "in the church, immediately after the second lesson, a select number of them having repeated the Catechism, and been examined in some part of it, I endeavour to explain at large, and to enforce that part both on them and the congregation."¹

The next entry in his Journal well deserves a place in a history of American Missions:—"Friday, March 4.—I writ the Trustees for Georgia an account of our year's expense, from March 1, 1736, to March 1, 1737, which, deducting extraordinary expenses, such as repairing the parsonage-house, and journeys to Frederica, amounted, for Mr. Delamotte and me, to 44*l.* 4*s.* 4*d.*"²

His zeal for the maintenance of ecclesiastical order and authority was shown, about this time, by his taking a voyage to Charleston, to present a formal complaint to Mr. Garden, the Commissary, of some one who had married several of his parishioners without either banns or licence. As soon as he heard the case, Mr. Garden assured him "he would take care that no such irregularity should be committed for the future." The Journal then proceeds:—"Sunday, 17th.—Mr. Garden (to whom I must ever acknowledge myself indebted for many kind and generous offices) desiring me to preach, I did so, on the words of the epistle for the day, 'Whatsoever is born of

¹ Wesley's Journal.

² Ibid.

God overcometh the world.' To that plain account of the Christian state which these words naturally led me to give, a man of education and character seriously objected (what is indeed a great truth), 'Why, if this be Christianity, a Christian must have more courage than Alexander the Great.'"

Mr. Wesley having attained his object, set sail on his return to Savannah, but was met with stormy and contrary winds; and, after losing the anchor, and beating about at sea all night, got back with difficulty on Thursday, 21st April, into Charleston harbour.

This delay afforded him the opportunity of seeing and recording his impression of the Missionaries in that province. The following is the entry in his Journal:—

"Friday, 22.—It being the time of their annual visitation, I had the pleasure of meeting with the Clergy of South Carolina; among whom, in the afternoon, there was such a conversation, for several hours, on 'Christ our Righteousness,' as I had not heard at any Visitation in England, or hardly on any other occasion."

It is impossible not to admire the ardour and assiduity with which Mr. Wesley devoted himself to the spiritual welfare of the settlers. Thus finding a settlement of French families at the village of Highgate, near Savannah, and one of Germans at Hampstead, he readily undertook to perform divine service every Saturday at both places, in the language of the respective settlers. This led to a further demand upon his time, as will appear from the following entry in his Journal, giving an account of his Sunday's occupation:—

"Saturday, Oct. 29, 1737.—Some of the French of Savannah were present at the prayers at Highgate. The next day I received a message from them all, 'That, as I read prayers to the French of Highgate, who were but few, they hoped I would do the same to

those of Savannah, where there was a large number who did not understand English. Sunday, 30th.—I began to do so, and now I had full employment for that holy day. The first English prayers lasted from 5 till half-past 6. The Italian, which I read to a few Vaudois, began at 9. The second service for the English (including the Sermon and the Holy Communion) continued from half an hour past ten to half an hour past twelve. The French service began at one. At two I catechised the children. About three I began the English service. After this was ended, I had the happiness of joining with as many as my largest room would hold in reading, prayer, and singing praise; and about six the service of the Moravians, so called, began, at which I was glad to be present, not as a teacher, but a learner.”

Circumstances, which it is no part of our task to investigate, by exciting the jealousy of the chief magistrate of Savannah, and making the conduct of Mr. Wesley a subject of public comment, and even of judicial proceedings, led him, after taking counsel with his friends, to decide upon leaving a country where his power of being useful seemed likely to be diminished. “Being now,” he says, “only a prisoner at large, in a place where I knew, by experience, every day would give fresh opportunity to procure evidence of words I never said, and actions I never did, I saw clearly the hour was come for leaving this place; and as soon as evening prayers were over, about eight o’clock, the tide then serving, I shook off the dust of my feet and left Georgia, after having preached the Gospel there (not as I ought, but as I was able), one year and nearly nine months.”¹ After encountering many difficulties and dangers he arrived at Charleston, and embarked (December 22, 1737) on his return to his own country, in which he was destined to play a more conspicuous and successful part. During his stay, he had

¹ Wesley’s Journal.

certainly exhibited many essential qualities of a Missionary — remarkable self-denial, a readiness to endure hardness, (“for he frequently slept on the ground, sometimes waded through swamps, or swam over rivers, and then travelled till his clothes were dry,”)¹ and a rare disinterestedness. It appears, from the records of the Society, that his first design “was to receive nothing of any man but food to eat and raiment to put on, and those in kind only, that he might avoid, as far as in him lay, worldly desires and worldly cares; but being afterwards convinced by his friends that he ought to consider the necessities of his flock as well as his own, he thankfully accepted that bounty of the Society which he needed not for his own personal subsistence.”²

It is a singular fact, that the ship which brought Wesley into the Downs passed one outward-bound, which had on board another remarkable man, just commencing his voyage for the very Mission which Wesley had abandoned. The latter, as soon as he knew that Whitfield was aboard the vessel which had just set sail, and “doubting whether his friend would be so usefully employed in America as in England,” found means to send after him the following note:—“When I saw God by the wind which was carrying you out brought me in, I asked counsel of God, [by which is to be understood, that he referred the question to chance, and drew lots;] His answer you have inclosed.” It was on a slip of paper, in these words:—“Let him return to London.” But Whitfield was not a man to be diverted from his settled purpose by a mere fanciful superstition, and therefore proceeded on his voyage. As he was in no way connected with the Society, (though

¹ Moore's Life of Wesley, vol. i. p. 307.

² Journal of S. P. G. vol. vii. p. 261.

frequently mentioned in the correspondence of its Missionaries,) a very brief reference to his visits to America is all that can be expected in these Notices. On the first occasion his stay was limited to a few months; for he arrived in May, 1738, and was back in London again before the end of the year. For the short time he remained, however, it appears that he was indefatigable in the discharge of his professional duties, saying prayers and preaching twice every week-day, and four times on Sunday.

He returned to Georgia in 1739, after a tour of preaching in the northern states, in which he created the most powerful sensation. Whitfield's great work in America was the foundation of an orphan house. A plot of ground containing 500 acres, at the distance of ten miles from Savannah, had been selected for the purpose, of which Whitfield took formal possession on the 24th January, 1740, and immediately commenced the building of his institution, to which he gave the name of Bethesda. The necessary funds he collected after sermons which he preached, in all parts of the States, to immense congregations.¹ The Reports of the Society make mention of the "wild doings of enthusiasm;" they state that, in consequence of the preaching of Whitfield, many illiterate persons pretended a call to exercise publicly their gifts of praying and preaching, insomuch that tailors, shoemakers, and not only women, but boys and girls, had become (as their term was) "exhorters."² And although, undoubtedly, much distraction must have arisen from the prevailing fanaticism, it is reported to have had the effect of directing the attention of the more serious to the Liturgy of the

¹ Philip's Life of Whitfield.

² Report for 1742.

Church, and bringing many considerable families, especially at Stratford, within its pale.

On the petition of the trustees, the Rev. W. Morris was appointed Missionary to Savannah, in 1740, and the Rev. Mr. Bosomworth to Frederica, in 1743. The latter states that the people had been too long as sheep without a shepherd, and driven to and fro with every wind of doctrine, and that he was using his best efforts to lay the foundations of the true faith by catechising the children. To encourage him in this course, the Society sent out to him a parcel of necessary books. He did not, however, remain long in the Mission, but was succeeded in 1745 by the Rev. Mr. Zouberbugler, who, two years after his arrival, reported the number of inhabitants in Savannah at 602, and of communicants at fifty-seven. A schoolmaster, by name Ottolenghi, "a very serious and devout convert from Judaism," was added to the Mission in 1750; and the Rev. Jonathan Copp was sent out as Missionary to Augusta.

Mr. Copp found on his arrival a congregation of from eighty to a hundred persons, but only eight communicants; and there was no other settled clergyman within 130 miles of him. His own situation appears to have been sufficiently trying; for neither house nor glebe had been prepared, and there seemed but little chance of his receiving even the small allowance of 20*l.* a-year, which had been promised to him by the vestry. But independently of all this, himself and his family were living in constant apprehension of an incursion and attack by the Indians, who had already "murdered and scalped sundry of the English."¹ He contrived, however, to maintain his ground in this Mission for a period of five years; and in

¹ Original Letters, vol. xii. l. 150.

1756 removed to a parish in South Carolina, on the invitation of the inhabitants.¹

In 1758, the Assembly passed an act for dividing the province into eight parishes, recognising the doctrine and discipline of the Church of England, and granting a salary of 25*l.* sterling to every Clergyman employed in the province.

The Mission of Augusta remained for some time vacant ; but, in 1764, was again filled by the appointment of the Rev. Samuel Frink, who had been educated at a dissenting College in New England, but had, on conviction, conformed to the Church of England. Mr. Frink proceeded from Boston to Charleston by sea, and was no less than thirty-seven days on the voyage. After waiting there six days for an opportunity, "I proceeded," he says, "on my journey, which was not a little tedious: besides the distance of the way, which is great, there are very few houses on the way, and no accommodation for travellers, being obliged to carry our own provisions, and dine upon the ground; and, at night, to rest the wearied limbs upon a bear-skin in some low and sometimes deserted cottage or hut, and sometimes lodge in the woods, having the canopy of heaven for a covering." On the fifth day he arrived at Augusta. The population at the time of his first report consisted of 540 whites, 501 negro slaves, and about 90 Chickesaw Indians.² In 1765, he reports that the lower sort of people in Augusta had but little religion, and that public worship was kept up principally by a few gentlemen and their families; in 1767, he was removed to Savannah. The Rev. Edward Ellington, who succeeded him at Augusta, informed the Society, June 30, 1768, that there was not one place of worship of any denomination within

¹ Journal, vol. xiii. p. 187.

² Ibid. vol. xvi. p. 425.

a hundred miles of him any way. "Round about my dwelling," he says, "there is a famine, 'not a famine of bread, nor a thirst for water, but of hearing the word of the Lord.'" For I may, with the father of the faithful, lift up my eyes and look from the place where I am, 'northward, and southward, and eastward, and westward,' and there is no church or place of worship any where to be seen." Mr. Ellington did what he could to remedy this evil, generally setting out on the Monday, and travelling thirty or forty miles, performing divine service at three different places, ten miles wide of each other, on the three following days, and returning home on the Friday. Within a short time after his arrival at his Mission, he had baptized 178 children and two adults.¹

The following extract from a letter dated Feb. 8, 1770, will serve to convey some idea of the severe tests to which the zeal of a Missionary in a rude country, and amid so widely scattered a population, was put. He says—

"I am in a few weeks to go to a place near an hundred miles from my habitation, where I have never yet been, upon application from the people. Although it is the hottest time of the year, and travelling excessively disagreeable and in some measure dangerous, yet I could not refuse, being determined by God's assistance to spend and be spent in His service, and to spare no pains and shun no labour that I might meet with in spreading the knowledge of Christ, and propagating His Gospel among mankind."

Although Whitfield played a distinguished part in the early religious history of Georgia, yet it would be going beyond the limits of the present work to enter, with any detail, into the history of his proceedings in that colony. They will therefore be noticed only so far as they bear

¹ Journal, vol. xviii. p. 54.

upon the Society's operations. Widely different views have been taken of his character, and of the effect of his conduct. Mr. Frink did not scruple to say of him, "He has done more mischief in England and America, more particularly in Georgia; than he himself could undo, if we suppose him as zealous against promoting enthusiasm, disorder, and confusion as he has been for encouraging them: it is more, I say, than he could undo in three centuries. He has been a destroyer of order and peace, and of the Church of England, wherever he came; an encourager of every sectary; a public condemner of the Church of England Clergy, persuading the people in every preachment that nine-tenths of the Clergy of the Church of England are absolutely perjured, &c. However, I pity the man, whilst I condemn his rashness and censorious humour His Orphan House has always been a nest for the enemies of the Church."¹

At the same time it is only just to say, that Mr. Ellington, who took a more favourable view of his proceedings, was willing to co-operate with him in such parts of his plan as were consistent with the duty he owed to the Church. Accordingly, when Whitfield expressed his intention to have the religious services of the Orphan House in strict conformity with the Liturgy of the Church of England, but found a difficulty in meeting with a Clergyman to take charge of the institution, Mr. Ellington accepted his proposal to undertake that duty, and announced to the Society his intention of removing thither at Midsummer, 1770.²

During his residence at Augusta he had travelled in the discharge of duty 3,000 miles; had baptized 428 persons;

¹ MS. Letter, Aug. 4, 1768.

² Ibid. Feb. 18, 1770.

and raised the number of communicants from seven to nearly forty.¹

Although the Church of England was established by law in Georgia, the province divided into parishes, and commissioners appointed to see to the erection of a church and the setting off a glebe in every parish, yet all these provisions were nugatory, as no one seemed to consider himself responsible for carrying them into practical operation.

In 1769, there were but two churches in the whole of Georgia, and these were 150 miles apart. The condition of the people may easily be imagined. "Without using any rhetorical figures," says Mr. Frink, "they seem in general to have but very little more knowledge of a Saviour than the aboriginal natives. Many hundreds of poor people, both parents and children, in the interior and extreme parts of the province, have no opportunity of being instructed in the principles of Christianity, or even in the being of a God, any further than nature dictates." These evils he considered could never be remedied without the controlling presence and authority of a Bishop; and he proceeds to show, irresistibly, both the duty and the policy of no longer delaying the establishment of the Episcopate in that country. As things then were, the dissenters of every denomination had a manifest advantage over Churchmen; and, contrary to their avowed principles, they opposed, by every means in their power, the full constitution of the Church in the colonies. But Mr. Frink with reason asks, "Why should these schismatics frighten a whole nation with their blustering? Surely they cannot deny us liberty of conscience, which they are so fond of. Are not Churchmen entitled to as many privileges as dis-

¹ Journal, vol. xviii, p. 479.

senters in America? I hope, to more: though they have not as yet experienced it. Why all this clamour and noise with regard to sending a Bishop to America? Nothing, surely, less than consummate impudence, and a desire to be in the saddle, that they may ride over us, as they have always endeavoured to do, both in Church and State. God preserve us from such masters!"

On the 8th July, 1771, just three months before his death, Mr. Frink sent to the Society the following ecclesiastical returns of Savannah:—

Church of England	1,185
Lutherans	193
Presbyterians and Independents	499
Jews	49
Negroes	40
Infidels	30
	1,996

In the preceding half-year he had baptized eighty-three infants, and added ten to the number of the communicants.¹

Such is a very brief record of the planting and first increase of the Church in Georgia; and if the names of but few among the Missionaries in this or the other American colonies are mentioned, it must be remembered that the many, who remain unnoticed, were in like manner daily ministering God's holy Word and Sacraments, and sowing, under much discouragement, that seed of the Church which has since sprung up and borne fruit abundantly.

¹ Journal, vol. xix. p. 123.

CHAPTER VI.

PENNSYLVANIA.

First Settlement—Rev. Mr. Clayton—Rev. Evan Evans—His Report of the State of the Church—Rev. John Clubb—Memorial for a Bishop—Rev. Robert Weyman—Rev. Thomas Crawford—Rev. George Ross—Rev. William Beckett—Rev. Hugh Neill—Loss of Messrs. Wilson and Giles at sea—Rev. Dr. Smith—Rev. Thomas Barton—Mission of Huntingdon—Scheme for the Conversion of the Indians—Variety of Sects—Proposed Conformity of Lutherans and Calvinists—Progress of Fanaticism—Marlborough—Outbreak of the Indians—Mr. Barton refuses the Oath of Allegiance—Retires from his Mission.

IN tracing the patient and persevering efforts which were made by the Society to plant the Church in the young colonies of America, we must not expect to find any of those great and stirring events which belong to the ecclesiastical annals of Europe. Here is neither Pope nor Council—no learned controversialists—no colleges or religious houses—no store of books. All that we can do, therefore, is to watch the progress of a few scattered Missionaries—each labouring in his particular sphere, without support or direction—to keep up a knowledge of God and of His law among a population for the most part alienated from the Church of their fathers. To go into the details of every individual's Mission would be both tedious and unprofitable; and, as the circumstances were in many respects similar, the cases which I shall cite may suffice to convey a general notion of the whole.

A colony of Swedes, who formed the first settlement on

the Delawarr, in 1636, brought with them their own Clergy—and Governor Printz built a church in 1646.

The settlers who accompanied Penn did not arrive till 1680; and we hear of no English clergymen in the province till 1695, when the Rev. Mr. Clayton was appointed to the charge of Christ Church, Philadelphia, which had been built in that year under his directions.¹

The Rev. Evan Evans was sent by the Bishop of London as Missionary to Philadelphia, in 1700; and within two years after his arrival more than 500 Foxian Quakers joined themselves to the communion of the Church of England. On the petition of his congregation, he was allowed a stipend of 50*l.* from King William. Nor was his influence confined to the capital; for many who came to Philadelphia from various parts of the surrounding country, and had thus an opportunity of attending public worship at Christ Church, were so impressed with the truth, as taught by Mr. Evans, that they formed themselves into congregations in their several neighbourhoods. The consequence was, that Mr. Evans was invited and readily undertook to minister to them, at several stations, varying in distance from fifteen to sixty miles from Philadelphia. But his own memorial, submitted to the Society in 1707, while he was in England on private business, is so much more interesting than any mere abstract of it would be, that it is thought best to place the principal part of it before the reader, in the persuasion that the most attractive form of history is that which is conveyed in the words of the actors themselves, and consequently that this document, giving a sketch of one of the most important states of America, while yet a comparative wilderness, will not, though long, be considered tedious. The unanswerable

¹ Dorr's History of Christ Church, Philadelphia, p. 24.

reasons which Mr. Evans gives for the establishment of a Bishopric in a new settlement, will be read with interest at a time when the Church at home is making a great effort for completing her organization in all the dependencies of the British Crown:—

“The state of the Church in Pennsylvania, most humbly offered to the venerable Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts.

“I was sent over Missionary in the year 1700, by the Right Hon. and Right Reverend the Lord Bishop of London, to Philadelphia, in the province of Pennsylvania, where I preached the Gospel and administered the ordinances of Christ, with equal comfort to myself as well as advantage to others. And God was in a little time pleased to prosper my labours to that degree, as that I had, in less than three years after my arrival, a very numerous congregation, consisting for the most part of persons brought over from the Quakers, and other sectaries, to the Church of England; and the true religion (by the frequent resort of persons from remote parts to Philadelphia) did so spread, and the numbers of converts did increase so fast, that I was obliged to divide myself among them as often and as equally as I could, till they were formed into proper districts, and had Ministers sent over to them by the Venerable Society.

“For this reason I went frequently to Chichester, which is twenty-five; Chester, or Upland, twenty; Maidenhead, forty (where I baptized nineteen children at one time); Concord, twenty; Evesham, in West Jersey, fifteen; Montgomery, twenty; and Radnor, fifteen miles from Philadelphia. All which, though equally fatiguing and expensive, I frequently went to, and preached in, being by all means determined to lose none of those whom I had gained, but rather add to them, till the Society otherwise provide for them.

“But Montgomery and Radnor, next to my own beloved Philadelphia, had the most considerable share in my labours, where I preached in Welsh once a fortnight for four years, till the arrival of Mr. Nichols, Minister of Chester, in 1704. About

which time also the Reverend Mr. John Thomas, my late assistant, came from England.

“By this gentleman’s departure, the service of the Church in Philadelphia entirely devolved upon myself in all its parts, so that I was obliged to an uncommon application and labour in the supply of my cure in all its branches.

“While Mr. Thomas continued in Philadelphia, we had an evening lecture twice every month, one preparatory to the holy Sacrament the last Sunday of the month ; the other to a society of young men, that met together every Lord’s day, after evening prayer, to read the Scripture and sing psalms ; and I, being always present at those meetings unless hindered by the public service, or by visiting persons in violent sickness or calamitous circumstances, read some select prayers out of the public liturgy of the Church, always beginning with this collect, ‘Prevent us, O Lord, in all our doings,’ &c., and, concluding with the benediction, carried them with me to the church, where Mr. Thomas read, and I preached upon subjects suitable to the occasion. Particularly I insisted upon those texts, ‘Rejoice, O young man,’ &c., ‘Where-withal shall a young man,’ &c. And we discovered a visible benefit by our evening lectures ; for those Quakers that durst not appear in the day at the public service of the Church, for fear of disobliging their parents or masters, would stand under the church windows at night, till many of them plucked up so much courage as to come to the church itself, and at last, by the blessing of God upon the Word preached, submitted to the holy ordinance of baptism, and continue stedfast in the Church of England. . . .

“As for the number of adult persons and children that I baptized during my Mission, I state them, by a modest computation, to amount to 750, or rather 800, in Philadelphia, and in all the forenamed parts.

“The Welsh at Radnor and Merioneth, in the province of Pennsylvania, have addressed my Lord of London (having a hundred hands to their petition), for a Minister to be settled amongst them, that understands the British language, there being many ancient people among those inhabitants that do not understand the English ; and could a sober and discreet person be procured to undertake that Mission, he might be capable, by the

blessing of God, to bring in a plentiful harvest of Welsh Quakers, that were originally bred in the Church of England, but were unhappily perverted before any Minister in holy orders, that could preach to them in their own language, was sent into Pennsylvania. But I believe they are not irrecoverable, had they an itinerant Missionary who would use application and diligence to reduce them to the communion of the Church.

“There is another Welsh settlement, called Montgomery, in the county of Philadelphia, twenty miles distant from the city, where there are considerable numbers of Welsh people, formerly, in their native country, of the communion of the Church of England ; but about the year 1698, two years before my arrival in that country, most of them joined with the Quakers. But, by God’s blessing, some of them were reduced, and I have baptized their children, and preached often to them, especially while my late assistant, Mr. Thomas, continued with me.

“I visited them since, and prevailed upon them to meet every Lord’s day, about forty in number, where one that can understand the language well, and is a sober discreet man, reads the prayers of the Church every Lord’s day, the proper psalms and lessons, omitting only the absolution, and what properly belongs to the priest’s office, and then reads some portion in a book of devotion to the people. I met with several good books, translated into the Welsh language, among my countrypeople, particularly the ‘Whole Duty of Man,’ in Welsh, and the ‘Practice of Piety.’ As for the ‘Christian Monitor,’ ‘Dorrington’s Familiar Guide to the Lord’s Supper,’ ‘The Advice of a Minister to his Parishioners,’ all in Welsh, what I received were faithfully dispersed, but were so few, that a greater number is still wanting. . .

“There is a large and fair structure built for divine worship at Newcastle, forty miles from Philadelphia, finished within and without, where I preached, the beginning of December last, and found a considerable congregation, considering the generality of the people were gained over from other persuasions. Their minister, the Rev. Mr. George Ross, is esteemed a person that is ingenious and well learned, as well as sober and prudent, and I doubt not but, by the blessing of God upon his good endeavours, the church of Newcastle will continue to increase.

“In Chester, twenty miles from Philadelphia, upon Delawarr River, they have a good church, built with brick, finished, where Mr. Henry Nichols is minister. I preached the middle of December last in that church, to a congregation consisting of about 150 ; but when I preached there, the summer before, I found a more numerous congregation. Our winter, being very severe in those parts, detains many from church whose plantations lie at a distance, and for that reason Mr. Nichols preaches sometimes at Concord in the week days.

“Trinity Church, in Oxford township, lies in the county of Philadelphia, nine miles from the city, where, for the four first years after my arrival in Philadelphia, I frequently preached, and administered both the Sacraments, and had, when I preached last in it, about 140 people, most of the people brought over to the Church of England from Quakers, Anabaptists, and other persuasions.

“I should now put an end to my memorial, were it not that the want of a Bishop amongst us cannot be passed over in silence. 'Tis a dismal thing to consider how much the want of one has retarded the progress of the true religion in America.

“The Spaniards were, in the beginning of their settlements in these Indies, sensible of this disadvantage, and therefore they wisely remedied any inconveniences that might happen on this score, by erecting several bishoprics in their dominions in that part of the world ; and why we should not copy after them, especially in so useful and necessary a point, I do not understand, since what is good for them in this respect cannot be bad for us. *‘Eas est et ab hoste doceri.’*

“It can be no shame for us to imitate their prudence and conduct on this occasion ; and though we had no such instance or example to direct or influence in an affair of this kind, yet the evident necessity of the thing itself loudly calls for supply and relief.

“I will only mention a few things which point at this defect, and then the Venerable Society will judge whether the English Americans have not reason to press for, and demand the constant residence of a Bishop among them.

“I take it for granted that the ends of the Mission can never

be rightly answered without establishing the discipline as well as the doctrine of the Church of England in those parts ; for the one is a fortress and bulwark of defence to the other, and when once the outworks of religion come to be slighted and dismantled, it is easy to foresee, without the spirit of prophecy, what the consequence will be.

“ 1st. As to a ready and constant supply of Ministers or Missionaries, (which is of the last consequence to the well-being of the American churches,) this can never be hoped for without a resident Bishop among them, to whom, upon the death, or notorious and scandalous immorality of any clergyman, application may in a little time be made, and the wants of each cure may be supplied by his ordaining such persons as shall be found capable of labouring in God’s vineyard. Such, I presume, a resident Bishop would seldom or never want there. For to establish a bishopric would be in effect the establishing a college in those parts, or at least it would draw many of our young students thither from Great Britain and Ireland, in hopes both of ordination and preferment ; whereas, by sending to Great Britain, a vast deal of time is lost, nor can the true state of ecclesiastical things, or persons, be ever so well known as by a Bishop who lives upon the spot, and who consequently can best see into all the several causes and springs of things.

“ 2dly. A Bishop is absolutely necessary to preside over the American clergy, and to oblige them to do their duty, and to live in peace and unity one with the other. The Missionaries of America are like other men, and they may sometimes fall out and differ among themselves, and give great offence, through their unnecessary heats and animosities, to the people. The contention between Paul and Barnabas was so sharp, and grew so high, that they fell out and parted upon it ; and can we think that the American Missionaries are better armed, or less exposed to accidents of this kind than those two great and holy men were ?

“ And if this should be the case of the English Missionaries, as it has sometimes been, how fatal must the consequences of such an unhappy strife and contention be, where there is no superior to control them, or to take a cognizance of any affair of this kind into his hands ; religion in this case must bleed and fall a victim

to the factious and unruly humours of a few turbulent and indiscreet persons. Nor, indeed, humanly speaking, is it possible it should be otherwise. When there was no king in Israel, the children of Israel did that which was right in their own eyes ; and can it be expected that it will be otherwise with the clergy of America, where there is no Bishop to put a stop to their career, or to keep them within those bounds of decency, respect, and mutual forbearance, which they so much owe one to another ? Wheresoever presbytery is established, there they have the face and appearance of an ecclesiastical jurisdiction and authority, after their way, to resort to upon all occasions. But our clergy in America are left naked and destitute of any advantage of this kind, and exposed to the mercy and conduct of their own very often unreasonable passions and appetites, which are by many degrees the worst masters they can truckle under.

“ I will only, in the third place, mention the disadvantages the laity lie under for want of a Bishop, and put an end to this memorial.

“ The minister’s subsistence and livelihood being, in all places in America, more or less depending upon the bounty of the people, by contributions and acts of assembly, it is a difficult matter for them, without the countenance and authority of a Bishop, to put a stop to the profaneness and immorality of their several parishioners ; for to touch the more topping and considerable men of them, either in public or private, is to draw the fury of the whole congregation upon the Missionary, and to deprive himself of that salary and maintenance which he has from them.

“ It were to be wished that the clergy’s salaries and maintenance in America were settled and adjusted by Act of Parliament in Great Britain, and then they would be more bold and resolute in doing their duty ; but as bad as things are in this respect, yet a Bishop would, to a great degree, remedy all inconveniences of this kind ; for if the Missionary either could not, or durst not, do his duty, then the Bishop would ; and the laity would be, in a little time, brought to pay a greater regard to their spiritual guides, and then they would by degrees submit to Church discipline and censures, without which, though a Church may be planted

and gathered, yet it can never be of any long growth or continuance.

“Add to this, that the want of a Bishop to confirm in those parts is a great trouble to the American Clergy, for they are bound by the rubric not to administer the sacrament of the Lord’s Supper but to such as are confirmed ; which prohibition, notwithstanding, they are forced to break through, in this case of necessity. Many other reasons may be assigned for the erecting a bishopric in the English America.

“But I am afraid I have trespassed already too much on the Venerable Society’s patience, nor should I have presumed to have mentioned anything of this kind, but that the necessities of the Church in foreign parts are so pressing, that it was not possible for me to avoid giving this short hint (which I do with the most profound humility and submission) without incurring the sin of concealing that which I know to be necessary to the good of the Church, and so agreeable to the desires of all the poor Clergymen and Protestants of America, as easily appears by the several addresses which have been made on this account. But as for the way or method of erecting a bishopric in those parts, the Venerable Society is the best judge of that, to whose most pious and prudent care and conduct I humbly submit and leave it, and do most earnestly beseech God to bless and preserve the Venerable Society in all its religious and charitable undertakings.

“I have been concerned in this Mission above seven years, and do mean, by God’s grace, to spend more of my time and pains in the propagation of the Gospel in those parts.¹

“EVAN EVANS.

“*London, 18th September, 1707.*”

On his return to America, in 1709, Mr. Evans carried out, as a present from Queen Anne, the communion-plate which is still used for the administration of the Lord’s Supper at Christ Church, Philadelphia.²

¹ Appendix to Journal, 109.

² Dorr’s Historical Account of Christ Church, Philadelphia, p. 37.

His Missionary visits to Oxford had encouraged the settlers of that township to build a church, and they then addressed a memorial to the Society, praying that a Missionary might be sent to live among them. A similar application was made by the people of Radnor; and the Rev. John Clubb was accordingly appointed to the spiritual charge of those two settlements, distant from each other about twenty miles. He arrived in his Mission in 1714, and was received with the greatest cordiality; the congregation at Radnor, especially, were so thankful to the Society for considering their wants, that they at once commenced the erection of a handsome stone church. "Mr. Clubb," says Humphreys, "was very earnest in all parts of his ministerial office, and very successful in his labours, and happy in engaging the love and esteem of all his people." But the labour of such a Mission to a conscientious Clergyman was excessive, and the bodily fatigue, with the extreme alternations of heat and cold, proved fatal to the health of Mr. Clubb. After a faithful discharge of his duties for one year, he sunk under the burden which was laid upon him; and the churchwardens announced his death, which occurred in 1715, in the following terms to the Society:—"Mr. Clubb, our late minister, was the first that undertook the cure of Oxford and Radnor, and he paid dear for it; for the great fatigue of riding between the two churches, in such dismal ways and weather as we generally have for four months in the winter, soon put a period to his life."¹

Mr. Evans paid a second visit to England, in 1716, about the time that this sad intelligence was received; and he was induced to undertake the vacant Mission of Oxford and Radnor, where he laboured diligently for two years,

¹ Humphreys, p. 157.

and then accepted a living which was offered to him by the governor of Maryland. He soon afterwards died, with this testimony to his character:—"That he had behaved himself as a faithful Missionary, and had proved a great instrument towards settling religion and the Church of England in those wild parts."¹

Nothing can better illustrate the evil of leaving a Church without episcopal superintendence, than the occurrences which ensued on the retirement of Mr. Evans from his Mission in Philadelphia. Several of his brethren offered their services to the Governor to supply the vacancy; but no appointment could take place till the Atlantic had been twice crossed, to seek and bring back the Bishop of London's decision. The consequence was, that the Mission remained vacant from February 15th, 1718, to September 4th, 1719. But advantage was taken of the interval to prepare two several addresses to the Archbishops and Bishops of the Church of England, setting forth the pressing need of a resident Bishop, for the want of whom their churches remained unconsecrated, and their children could not be confirmed. The memorial then proceeds,—“The vacancies which daily happen in our ministry cannot be supplied for a long time from England, whereby many congregations are not only become desolate, and the light of the Gospel therein extinguished, but great encouragement is thereby given to sectaries of all sorts, which abound and increase among us; and, some of them pretending to what they call the power of ordination, the country is filled with fanatical teachers, debauching the good inclination of many souls, who are left destitute of any instruction or ministry.”²

The Rev. Robert Weyman was the successor of Mr.

¹ Humphreys, p. 151.

² Dorr's Hist. Account, p. 46.

Evans in the Mission of Oxford and Radnor; and the best proof that can be cited of the estimation in which he was held is the fact, that "the inhabitants of Oxford purchased a house, orchard, and sixty-three acres of land, for the use of the minister."¹ On week-days he visited various destitute settlements,—one of them, Conestego, forty miles distant from Radnor.

Several accounts concur in representing him as very diligent and laborious in the discharge of his duties; and the consequence was a continual accession of members to the Church. At Whitemarsh, one of the stations which he visited periodically, the people erected "a goodly stone building," and expressed their anxiety to have a resident Missionary. Mr. Weyman removed, in 1729, to Burlington, in New Jersey, where for a period of eight years he continued to give proof of a like zealous devotion to the duties of his calling. He concludes a letter written in 1737, by speaking of himself as "in all probability going out of life through an atrophy, consumption, and dropsy, and he therefore begged leave to take his last farewell of the Venerable Society, with his sincere thanks for all their favours and good offices, and with his most hearty prayers to God Almighty to pour His blessings upon them, and to recompense all their works of mercy and charity at the resurrection of the just." This letter was inclosed in one from Mr. Vaughan of Elizabethtown, dated Nov. 29, 1737, in which he informed the Society, "that Mr. Weyman had exchanged this life for a better, the day before, and had left a wife and six children in very low circumstances, through the poor pittance of his fortunes. That he had left the world with an universal good character, and was a true and faithful labourer in God's vineyard."

¹ Humphreys, p. 158.

The Society, out of especial regard to Mr. Weyman's long and faithful services, voted a gratuity of 60% to his widow and children.¹

We now revert to an early period in the history of the Pennsylvanian Church, in order to notice the labours of two or three other Missionaries.

The Rev. Thomas Crawford was appointed Missionary at Dover, in the year 1704. Writing home, in 1706, he says, "On my first arrival I found the people all stuffed with various opinions, but not one in the place that was so much of a churchman as to stand godfather to a child; but now I have baptized a great number. They bring their children with sureties very orderly to the church, and also people at age a great many, the greater part whereof were Quakers and Quaker children. . . I have baptized families of them together, so I have daily additions to the congregation."² The great ignorance of the people in the country districts, and their utter alienation from the Church, may be gathered from his statement in a subsequent letter, that, at his "entry, there was not one man in Kent county that understood the Prayer-Book; no, not so far as to answer the Psalms, or other parts of the service."³ In about two years he baptized above 230 persons, of various ages, within his own Mission, besides many others in the county of Sussex.

Another rising town of Pennsylvania which the Society determined to furnish with a Clergyman, was Newcastle, originally built by the Dutch, and containing a population of 2,500. The Rev. George Ross was accordingly sent there in the year 1705. There, as elsewhere, the

¹ Report for 1738-9.

² MS. Letters, vol. ii. l. 150.

³ Ibid. vol. iv. l. 71.

proportion of Churchmen was inconsiderable; "the Presbyterians having a meeting in the town, and the Anabaptists another in the country."¹ His congregation was principally made up of those who came from a considerable distance to church; some above twelve miles, and "seldom missing—zealous men, and of substantial piety." A church was built by the contributions of several gentlemen in the place;—"a fair and stately building, and one of the largest in this government."² After he had been about three years in his Mission, whether in consequence of the unhealthiness of the situation, or of the little "encouragement" he received, with both of which he was dissatisfied, Mr. Ross left Newcastle, and went to Chester, from which place the Rev. H. Nicholls had withdrawn. This liberty of changing their stations, which these and others of the early Missionaries assumed, is here mentioned as furnishing a practical proof of the detriment which the infant Church in the colonies suffered for want of a presiding head. The only step which the Society could take was to suspend the payment of their stipends. Mr. Ross then went home to vindicate his conduct before the Society; and, after a full inquiry into all the circumstances of the case, was restored to his charge.³

On his voyage back to America, he was taken prisoner by a French man-of-war, 9th February, 1711, and carried into Brest, where, he says, "I, as well as others, was stripped of all my clothes, from the crown of my head to the sole of my foot; in a word, I was left as naked as I was born, and that by means of the greedy priest that was chaplain of the ship: he perceived that my clothes were better than his own, and therefore he never ceased

¹ MS. Letters, vol. ii. l. 168.

² Ibid. vol. iv. l. 44.

³ Journal, vol. i. p. 316.

to importune his captain till he got leave to change, forsooth, with me; so that I am now clothed in rags, in testimony of my bondage.”¹ He was ultimately released, and returned to Chester, in which settlement he reports that there were, “by a modest computation, twenty Quakers, besides other dissenters, for one true Churchman.”

In 1717, Mr. Ross was invited by Col. Keith, Governor of Pennsylvania, to accompany him in a tour through the counties of Kent and Sussex. The first entry in his journal after their arrival at Lewis Town, is as follows: “Tuesday 6th [August]. I attended the Governor to the court-house of the said county, where I read divine service, the justice of the county, with many others, being present.” Again, on the following day, “Wednesday, 7th. Service being read in the said court, I preached.” It appears from these and subsequent entries, that it was the Governor’s “commendable practice to introduce the doing of public business with solemn prayers.”²

Nothing can show more glaringly the want of a settled Clergy than the fact that Mr. Ross, during a week’s stay in these counties, baptized 102 persons. Indeed, he seems to have been so impressed with the duty of attempting, at least, to supply their wants, that he returned, in April of the following year, to Sussex county, preached in different places every day during his week’s visit, and baptized more than one hundred persons, amongst whom were seven in advanced life.

In transmitting a copy of this journal to the Society, Col. Keith, after commending “the great pains and diligent care” of the Clergy generally, and speaking in high terms of Mr. Ross’s “capacity, exemplary life, and great

¹ MS. Letters, vol. vi. l. 40.

² Ibid. vol. xii. p. 221.

industry," goes on to observe; "The duty here daily increases at such a rate, and the labourers are so few, that, without your pious and immediate care to relieve and supply this languishing, but valuable, little branch of the Church, all our endeavours will be to no purpose in a place so much overrun with sectaries of all kinds, that it certainly requires a much greater proportion, both of men and parts, than any other place in America, to support the communion we have, and to make the best use of the opportunities given to enlarge the same."¹

The Rev. William Beckett went out, in 1721, as Missionary to Lewes, a large and handsome town on the bank of the river Delawarr, and the centre of a Mission which comprised the whole county of Sussex, fifty miles in length by twenty in breadth. In the discharge of his duty he was compelled to travel seventy or eighty miles every week; but "grudged no labour while he was serving God and his generation." The effect of his ministrations soon became visible in the moral improvement of the people, especially as regarded the vices of "swearing and drunkenness, which for some years had been epidemical there." And so remarkable was this reformation, that the magistrates and gentlemen of the county presented their thanks to Mr. Beckett for his great exertions. A subscription for the erection of a church at Lewes was at once commenced, and two others were built in different parts of the county. Mr. Beckett, after having been two whole years in the Mission, thus speaks of what had been done:—"May 19, 1724. We have now three churches in this county, yet none of them will contain the hearers that constantly attend the Church service. People at this season of the year make no account of riding twenty miles to church—

¹ Vol. xii. p. 208.

a thing very common in this part of America; which is sufficient to shew that our people have a great value for the favour of the Society, and that our labour in this distant part of the world is not in vain.”¹

As the government of the province was in the hands of the Quakers, no public grants were voted for the erection of churches, or the stipends of Clergymen. Yet at this time fifteen “very decent” churches had been built, and many valuable bequests left for the use of the Church and her ministers. But besides this, parsonage-houses had also been provided; and in many places liberal contributions were made for the maintenance of the Clergyman. At the same date the Society had distributed among the poorer classes of the province above two thousand volumes of bound books, and about 300% worth of small tracts.²

It would be superfluous to trace the useful labours of this conscientious Missionary from year to year. In 1729 he reported that the Church in Sussex county was generally in “a growing state; and that a *fourth* church had been built by the inhabitants in the middle of the forest.”

In 1740 Lewes was visited, for the second time, by the “popular enthusiast,” Mr. Whitfield, who preached four or five times from a balcony to a multitude of about 1,500 of all sorts. But the next year the enthusiasm which had for a season been so violent abated, and Mr. Whitfield’s proselytes recanted their errors, “the most considerable, in print.” “The truth is,” says Mr. Beckett, in writing to the Society, “your Missionaries have conquered and convinced them, not so much by opposition as by patience; and by studying to be quiet and to mind their own business.”

In this, which is one of his last letters, and is dated September 26th, 1742, he was enabled to assure the

¹ MS. Letters, vol. xviii. p. 142.

² Humphreys, p. 179.

Society that his four churches were filled on Sundays and holydays; and that in summer time, as they were unable to hold the congregations, he was "often obliged to preach under the green trees for room, for shade, and for fresh air." He had now been more than twenty years in his Mission, and was still compelled to travel very considerable distances to visit unprovided churches, as there was no Clergyman resident within fifty or sixty miles. He adds, "You will please to observe, sir, that there is a great distinction between '*ecclesia constituta*,' and '*ecclesia constituenda*.'" ¹

In the year 1749, the Rev. Hugh Neill, who had for many years been Minister to a congregation of Presbyterians in New Jersey, having, after careful examination, convinced himself of the duty of conforming to the Church of England, came over to this country, with satisfactory testimonials; and having been ordained by the Bishop of London, was nominated by the Society to the Mission of Dover. ²

In a letter written soon after his arrival, he speaks of many signs of improvement among the people of his parish; and, what is most worthy of record, he mentions having baptized 109 adult negroes, after having fully grounded them in the doctrines of Revelation. To this unfortunate race he paid special attention, and was in the habit of catechizing a class of one hundred every Sunday evening. In 1758 he was removed to Oxford, the inhabitants of which he thus classified:—about 150 professed members of the Church in the congregation at Oxford; and about the same number of attendants at Whitemarsh church, of whom, however, not more than thirty were Church members, while the rest were either dissenters, or

¹ Original Letters, i. l. 126.

² Journal, xi. p. 205.

young Dutch people, who had acquired a knowledge of the English. "As to the number of dissenters," he says, "they are almost innumerable; Quakers, Presbyterians, Old and New Lights, Baptists, both Seventh-day and First-day, Moravians, Menonists, Dumplers, and Pietists, with many other sorts; but these have all stated places of worship, besides the Dutch Calvinists, and Lutherans." Amid so many and such various adversaries, it is some consolation to learn, that "the utmost love, union, and harmony subsisted" between him and his congregations; and that "the majority of his people endeavoured to excel the Dissenters as much by the piety of their lives as by the purity of their doctrine."¹

The next year, however, he expressed great fears lest this unanimity should be disturbed, as Mr. Whitfield had again come to the province, and instead of being opposed by the clergy of Philadelphia, as in former years, was now followed by them, he says, "from the church to the meeting-house, and thence to the church again, with a greater degree of veneration (I really believe) than if His Grace of Canterbury was to condescend to pay them a visit."²

Many causes combined to make Mr. Neill a warm advocate for a resident American Episcopate. His own education among the Presbyterians must have shown him the practical defects of their form of church government; the numerous sects and denominations of Christians in both the Missions which he had served, must have convinced him how greatly a visible centre of unity was needed; while the irregularities of the Clergy themselves—as, for instance, in encouraging the schismatical teaching of Whitfield,—demanded the exercise of some superior authority.

¹ Original Letters, vol. xv. l. 118.

² Ibid. l. 119.

But another circumstance, occurring about this time, added irresistible weight to his argument. His nephew, Mr. Wilson, whom he had educated at his own charge, for the ministry of the Church, and sent to England for ordination, was, on his return, with his companion, the Rev. Mr. Giles, shipwrecked, and drowned within sight of shore. This sad disaster occurred on the 5th April, 1766, and the following are the reflections which he makes upon it :—

“ Such, alas ! are the misfortunes, and, I may say, persecutions, that attend the poor distressed Church of England in America, that, whilst the Dissenters can send out an innumerable tribe of teachers of all sorts without any inquiries, we must send three thousand miles across the Atlantic Ocean, at the expense of all we are worth, sometimes, and as much more as we have credit for, as well as the risk of our lives, before we can have an ordination. This is a difficulty that has, and always will, prevent the growth of the Church in America. Few Englishmen that can live at home will undertake the Mission : the great expenses and dangers of the seas that the Americans must encounter with before they can obtain an ordination, damp their spirits, and force many of them (who have strong inclinations to the Church) to join the Dissenters and become teachers among them. Thus, when a vacancy happens among *them*, it can be filled in an instant ; when a vacancy among *us*, it is some considerable time before we can have a minister. All this time the Dissenters are making such havoc among the Church people, that when a Missionary comes to one of these destitute places, he has all the work to begin again, and many years [must elapse] before he can collect his scattered sheep.

“ The Dissenters very well know, that the sending a Bishop to America would contribute more to the encouragement of the Church here, than all the money that has been raised by the honourable Society for the Propagation of the Gospel. Alas ! we see and feel the power of our enemies, and weakness of our friends, and can only mourn in secret and pray for better times.

“ The Rev. Dr. Allison, vice-provost of the college of Phila-

delphia, and who is at the head of the Presbyterians in this province, assured me the other day, in a conversation upon this subject, that they had no objection to what he called primitive Episcopacy, that is, Episcopacy without any civil power annexed to it, as he explained himself; and that he would be well contented if there was a Bishop of this sort in every province in America.

“I hope the Venerable Society will excuse my freedom in thus writing about sending a Bishop here, and only remember that, had a Bishop been in America, my nephew would not have come to such an unhappy end, nor I have been so distressed upon this melancholy occasion.”

Mr. Neill did not long survive his nephew; he died in the following October: and from that time the Rev. Dr. Smith, Provost of the College in Philadelphia, undertook to supply the Mission at Oxford twice in three weeks, to prevent its decay. He was accordingly nominated by the vestry, and at his own request placed on the list of the Society's Missionaries.¹ Ten years prior to this, in the year 1756, Dr. Smith had been in communication with the Society on the subject of a plan for the support and Christian education of a certain number of Indian children under his superintendence. The Society agreed to allow an annual sum of 100*l.* for this purpose, but there is no record of this plan having been carried into operation.² Dr. Smith appears to have acted on many occasions, during a period of twenty years, as the referee and adviser of the Society on questions affecting the interest of the Church in Pennsylvania. In a letter dated May 3, 1771, he reports, that “all the Swedish families in the neighbourhood, who were formerly a separate congregation under the Swedish Missionaries, have joined Oxford church, and

¹ Journal, vol. xvii. p. 394.

² Ibid. xiv. pp. 52, 161.

many are communicants.”¹ In 1772 he states, “there now is the highest happiness in the Oxford Mission;” and reports that he had “built a church, and gathered a numerous and respectable congregation, where the Methodists were attempting to build.”²

In January, 1755, Mr. Thomas Barton, who had been for two years engaged as an assistant tutor in the Academy of Pennsylvania, came to England with letters testimonial from the professors of the College and the Clergy of the province, and with an earnest petition from the inhabitants of Huntingdon, that he might be appointed their Missionary. After the necessary inquiries and examinations had been completed, Mr. Barton was ordained, and went back to America as itinerant Missionary for the counties of York and Cumberland.

The following extracts from his first letter to the Society, dated Huntingdon, November 8th, 1756, will convey some notion of the extent of his Mission, and the laborious nature of his duties:—

“After a short and very agreeable passage, I arrived at Philadelphia about the 16th of April, 1755, and immediately wrote to the people of Huntingdon, who came generously with their wagons, and brought away my effects. As soon as I had settled my affairs and visited my friends, I set out for this place about the latter end of May, where I was received with a hearty welcome, and was much pleased to find the poor people filled with gratitude under a due sense of the weighty obligations they were under to the honourable Society for the favours conferred upon them. And what pleased me still more, was to hear that they had struggled hard to keep alive some sense of religion among their children, by meeting every Sunday, and getting one of the members to read prayers for them.

“My first business was to visit and make myself acquainted

¹ Journal, vol. xix. p. 83.

² Ibid. p. 325.

with the state and numbers of the three congregations at York, Huntingdon, and Carlisle ; and having settled wardens and vestrymen in each, they all met, and, according to their numbers, agreed mutually that I should officiate three Sundays in six at Huntingdon, two at Carlisle, and one at York. Upon hearing that within the limits of my Mission there were large numbers of the communion of the Church of England, in the settlements of Canogoeheig, Shippensburg, Sheerman's-Valley, West-Penn's-Borough, and Marsh-Creek, I determined to visit each of these places four times a year, to prepare them for the sacrament of the Lord's Supper, and to baptize their children.

"I had the pleasure to see my hearers increase daily, which amounted to such a number in a few weeks at Huntingdon, that I have been sometimes obliged to preach to them under the cover of the trees. And when it was my turn at Carlisle, I am told that people came forty, fifty, and some sixty miles. The Dissenters also (who are very numerous in these parts) attended constantly, and seemed well-disposed, always behaving themselves decently and devoutly. The more rational part of them appear well reconciled with our Church, and some of the principal of them offered generously to subscribe to me.

"I now began to consider myself (as the Rev. Mr. Provost Smith expresses it in a letter to me) as one who had advanced to the very frontiers of the Messiah's kingdom, and among the first who had unfolded His everlasting banners in the remotest parts of the West.

"From the advantage of my situation, bordering upon nations of savages, I entertained strong hopes that it might please the Lord to make me a happy instrument to subject some of these poor ignorant creatures to the kingdom of God and of Jesus Christ ; and hearing that a number of them had come down from the Ohio to Carlisle, to dispose of their fur and deer skins, I made it my business to go among them, and endeavour as much as possible to ingratiate myself into their good opinion. Next morning I invited them to church, and such of them as understood any English came, and seemed very attentive the whole time. When I came to visit them in the afternoon, those that had been at church brought all their brethren to shake

hands with me, and pointing often upwards, discoursed with one another some time in their own language. I imagine they were telling them what they had heard, and indeed, I observed them to be pleased with the relation.

“ This gave me reason to think that the Indians were willing to be instructed, and were susceptible of good impressions ; and if they found Missionaries divested of sinister and selfish motives, they could easily be prevailed upon to exchange their savage barbarity for the pure and peaceable religion of Jesus. Just when I was big with the hopes of being able to do service among these tawny people, we received the melancholy news, that our forces, under the command of General Braddock, were defeated on the 9th of July, as they were marching to take Duquesne, a French fort upon the Ohio. This was soon succeeded by an alienation of the Indians in our interest ; and from that day to this, poor Pennsylvania has felt incessantly the sad effects of popish tyranny and savage cruelty. A great part of five of her counties has been depopulated and laid waste, and some hundreds of her steadiest sons either murdered or carried into barbarous captivity.

“ At a time of such public calamity and distress, you may easily conceive what must be my situation, whose fortune it was to have my residence in a place where these grievances were felt most. . . It is but a little time since these counties were erected. They were chiefly settled by poor people, who, not being able to purchase lands in the interior parts of the country, came back where they were cheap. Many of them were so low at first, that two families were generally obliged to join in fitting out one plough, and before they could raise a subsistence, were necessitated to run in debt for stock, and for what maintained them in the interim. As soon as they became industrious, the fertile soil gave them an hundredfold, and in a little time raised them to affluence and plenty : when they were just beginning to feel the comforts and taste the fruits of their industry, a barbarous and cruel enemy came and ruined them.

“ The county of Cumberland has suffered particularly, and the condition of its remaining shattered inhabitants is truly deplorable ! many of them are reduced to real poverty and-

distress, groaning under a burden of calamities ; some having lost their husbands, some their wives, some their children, and all the labour of many years. In this condition (my heart bleeds in relating what I am an eye-witness to) they now wander about without bread of their own to eat, or a house to shelter themselves in from the inclemency of the approaching winter. They have left many thousand bushels of wheat and other grain behind them in their barns and storehouses, which must become a spoil to the enemy, while the just owners of it must either beg or starve. Since I sat down to write this letter, I have received accounts that a poor family had fled for refuge into this county about six months ago, where they have remained ever since ; but finding they could not subsist, chose, a few days ago, to run the risk of returning home to enjoy the fruits of their labour, where they had not time to unlade their cart, before they were seized by Indians and murdered.

“ Carlisle is the only remains of that once populous county : they have a garrison of about 100 men, but how long they will be able to defend themselves is very uncertain, as the enemy have threatened that place in particular. They still have their share of my ministrations, and seem extremely thankful to the honourable Society upon whose bounty I am chiefly supported. . . This Mission, in a few years, would have vied with the ablest in this province, as it was in a flourishing state, and could not contain less than 2,000 persons, members of the Church of England. But so melancholy is the transition, that it cannot afford to build one church ; so that I officiate sometimes in a barn, sometimes in a waste house, or wherever else convenience offers.

“ I have baptized since my arrival one hundred and sixty infants, ten adults, and an Indian girl, who has been brought up in a Christian family since her infancy, after due examination and instruction. The number of my communicants is fifty-eight, which I have but little expectation of increasing till this storm is blown over.”

He then proceeds to give his views as to the most likely means for the civilization and conversion of the native North American tribes.

“Indeed, (in my humble opinion,) nothing can promise fairer to produce these happy effects than the scheme proposed by the honourable Society. In the conversion of Indians, many difficulties and impediments will occur, which European Missionaries will never be able to remove. Their customs and manner of living are so opposite to the genius and constitution of our people, that they could never become familiar to them. Few of the Indians have any settled place of habitation, but wander about where they can meet with most success in hunting, and whatever beasts or reptiles they chance to take are food to them. Bears, foxes, wolves, racoons, pole-cats, and even snakes, they can eat with as much cheerfulness as Englishmen do their best beef and mutton. But such hardships are easily surmounted, such an austere life made agreeable by such as from their infancy have been accustomed to them. So that Indian boys, educated at the Academy, under the care of able masters, where they can be visited by their relations, and taught everything necessary for them to learn at an easier expense than in any of the universities in Europe, will be the fittest to be employed in this grand and glorious work, and the most likely to succeed in it.”

In the difficult position in which he found himself, in a district exposed to the incursions of the French and the Indians, Mr. Barton was compelled to organize his own people for defence against their enemies. And so much did he distinguish himself by his zeal and activity in the cause of his country, that his conduct was thus spoken of in a letter from Philadelphia to Mr. Penn the proprietary:—
“Mr. Barton deserves the commendations of all lovers of their country; for he has put himself at the head of his congregations, and marched either by night or by day on every alarm. Had others imitated his example, Cumberland would not have wanted men enough to defend it; nor has he done anything in the military way but what hath increased his character for piety, and that of a sincerely religious man and zealous minister. In short,

he is a most worthy, active, and serviceable pastor and Missionary, and as such please to mention him to the Society."

So attached was his congregation to him, that, in 1758, the young men within his Mission offered to take up arms in defence of their country, and join themselves to General Forbes' army, if Mr. Barton would go with them as their minister. On this he proposed himself to the general as chaplain of the troops, and his services were thankfully accepted. His absence from his ordinary duties was but a short one; and, after an interval of five years, he sends the following account of his Mission and himself:—

"It is a great satisfaction to me to observe that the churches in this Mission make now as decent an appearance as any churches in the province, those of Philadelphia excepted. But much more is the pleasure I feel in observing them crowded every Sunday during the summer season with people of almost every denomination, who come, many of them, thirty and forty miles. I hope I may, without confidence, be allowed to assure you that it has pleased my Blessed Master, through my weak labours, to add some to the Church; and that, amidst all the mad zeal and distractions of the Religionists that surround me, I have never been deserted by any of those whom I had received in charge. I don't expect I shall be able many years to perform the duties of this Mission. The fatigue of riding twenty miles to one church and eighteen to another, in the cold of our winters and excessive heat of our summers, has already much impaired my constitution, which I had reason to value as an excellent one. But I do not mean to complain. Whilst I have any prospect of being serviceable to religion, or the least beneficial to my fellow-creatures, I shall cheerfully resign to this cause my health, and the best part of my life. I can propose no advantages to myself here, but what must result from a consciousness of having done my duty. I am indeed happy in being favoured with the venerable Society's approbation of my conduct. And they will be so just to me as

to believe, that, independent of any connexion with them, they have my esteem, affection, and best wishes."¹

A much fuller account, which may not be without its historical interest, is contained in his report of the following year, (1764.) It will serve also to impress upon the mind of the reader the excessive toils which were borne by the early Missionaries in America.

"This Mission takes in the whole of Lancaster county, (eighty miles in length, and twenty-six in breadth,) part of Chester county, and part of Berks ; so that the circumference of my stated Mission only is 200 miles. The county of Lancaster contains upwards of 40,000 souls : of this number, not more than 500 can be reckoned as belonging to the Church of England ; the rest are German Lutherans, Calvinists, Menonists, Moravians, New Born, Dunkers, Presbyterians, Seceders, New Lights, Covenanters, Mountain Men, Brownists, Independents, Papists, Quakers, Jews, &c. Amidst such a swarm of sectaries, all indulged and favoured by the Government, it is no wonder that the national Church should be borne down. At the last election for the county to choose assembly-men, sheriffs, coroner, commissioners, assessors, &c., 5000 freeholders voted, and yet not a single member of the Church was elected into any of these offices. Notwithstanding these and the like discouragements, I have the satisfaction to assure the honourable Society, that my people have continued to give proofs of that submission and obedience to civil authority which it is the glory of the Church of England to inculcate : and, whilst faction and party strife have been rending the province to pieces, they behaved themselves as became peaceable and dutiful subjects, never intermeddling in the least. Suffer me to add, sir, that in the murder of the Indians in this place, and the different insurrections occasioned by this inhuman act, not one of them was ever concerned. Justice demands this testimony from me in their favour, as their conduct upon this occasion has gained them much credit and honour. Upon the whole, the Church of England visibly gains ground throughout the province. The mildness and

¹ MS. Letter, June 28, 1763.

excellency of her constitution, her moderation and charity even to her enemies, and (I hope I may be indulged to say) the indefatigable labours of her Missionaries, must at length recommend her to all, except those who have an hereditary prejudice and aversion to her.

“ The German Lutherans have frequently in their Cœtus’s proposed a union with the Church of England, and several of their Clergy, with whom I have conversed, are desirous of addressing his Grace my Lord Archbishop of Canterbury, and my Lord Bishop of London upon the subject.

“ A large and respectable congregation of Dutch Calvinists in Philadelphia have already drawn up constitutions, by which they oblige themselves to conform to the canons and constitutions of the national Church, and to use her liturgy and forms, and none else, provided they be approved of and received at home, and that my Lord Bishop will grant ordination to such gentlemen as they shall present to him. . . The Presbyterians are in much disrepute with all the other sects, and seem to be at a stand. They gain no accession except from the importations of their own Society from the North of Ireland. . . The establishment of Episcopacy in America has been long talked of, and long expected, and I humbly beg the honourable Society’s pardon if I should take the liberty to observe, that this could never, in any former time, be introduced with more success than at present. . . The town of Lancaster contains about 600 houses, and is a very respectable and wealthy place. It has a large and elegant German Lutheran church, a Calvinist church, a Moravian church, a Quaker meeting, a Presbyterian meeting, a Popish chapel, constantly supplied by Jesuitical missionaries, besides the Church under my care, which is a stone building with a handsome steeple, and neatly finished within. . . The church of Carnarvon is 20 miles E.N.E. of Lancaster, on the verge of Berks county. This is a large edifice, and has a good appearance, the front being built of hewn stone. . . The families belonging to this church are between fifty and sixty, all of Welsh extraction. . . The church of Pequea is in Chester county, eighteen miles E. by S. of Lancaster. This is likewise a stone building, finished with neat pews, pulpit, and desk. A stone wall encloses the grave yard, but is not yet covered. The

congregation here consists of about fifty families, besides numbers of Dissenters who constantly attend. The communicants are thirty. A glebe of 100 acres of land belongs to this church, which rents for 10*l.* currency.

“At these churches I officiate Sunday about alternately, and have never to my knowledge been absent once even in the severest weather, except detained by sickness, to which I was always happy enough to be a stranger till of late. I have baptized within this twelvemonth one hundred and fifteen infants, twelve white adults and two black ones. Four or five of these were converts from Quakerism, the rest were such whose parents had belonged to the Church, but dying early, they neglected this sacrament till roused to consider the great necessity of it. They all came to the font well prepared, and were able to give a good account of their faith.

“The catechetical instructions to my young people are never omitted. . . . Besides these stated duties, I am often called ten, fifteen, or twenty miles to assist the sick, bury the dead, &c., which greatly adds to my fatigue. My itinerancy also bears heavy upon me in my present state of health. The churches of New London and Whiteclay Creek demand a share of my labours. I wish I could attend them oftener than I do. The former is thirty-five miles from me, and has about twenty families belonging to it; the latter upwards of fifty miles, and has (I think) sixty families.”¹

His letter of December 17, 1770, supplies full and painful evidence of the growth and prevalence of the wildest and most ignorant fanaticism, which, for want of an educated and duly authorized ministry, led many into the most dangerous errors. The following extracts will be read with interest:—

“With regard to the churches under my care, I am happy enough to assure the Society that they have suffered no diminution from the ill-natured opposition they have lately met with, but have stood firm amidst the wild though popular systems of religion, which extravagant enthusiasts have propagated around

¹ MS. Letter, Nov. 16, 1764.

them. The progress of fanaticism, however, in some parts of this province, is become very considerable. A broken officer, an English baker, a Dutch shoemaker, and a crazy planter, besides a number of strolling Methodists, have all in their turns been followed and admired, whilst rational religion and common-sense have been rejected and forsaken. Nay, some of those fanatics have had influence enough to get large meeting-houses erected for them. The new dispensation set up by these people contradicts some of the most comfortable doctrines of the Gospel. It discourages its proselytes from the pursuit of virtuous and moral actions. It teaches them that the baptism administered to them by those called clergy, was no baptism ; in consequence of which numbers have suffered themselves to be rebaptized. Instead of instructing the people to serve the Lord with gladness, and to have joy in the Holy Ghost, these miserable teachers advance a gloomy and dreadful religion, which has thrown its followers into dereliction and despair, and has made many of them fitter objects for a hospital than a church. They have set up nocturnal societies, consisting of persons of both sexes and of all ages. These societies travelled from house to house. Their meetings have often continued till midnight, and it is said some extravagancies have been acted in these meetings, equal to any that we read of among the ancient Bacchanalians. Boys of ten and twelve years old have been sent about the country to pray and exhort publicly. In short, the raving notions and ridiculous freaks that are every day spread and acted among us, under the name of religion, are beyond the power of description. The extreme absurdity, however, of those dispensations, is the only security we have from their becoming dangerous. Such madness and folly cannot possibly last long. And though they may, and undoubtedly will, unhinge the rational principles of the people for the present, yet when they return to their senses, as I trust they will soon do, they will be more cautious of being led into future delusions by false prophets and pretended saints. . . At Marlborough, near forty miles from hence, I preached last summer once in six weeks, on a week-day, and have promised the people there a share of my labours, until the venerable Society shall be pleased to provide better for them. This place was once a chief branch of a fine

Mission, under the care of one Mr. Gordon, who, it is said, behaved ill, and went away in disgrace. The congregation was afterwards occasionally visited by some of the Swedish Missionaries, but being at length neglected, by whose means I know not, they mostly went over to the Quakers. Their church went to decay, and everything like the religion they once professed was lost and forgot. In this state I found this place upon my first visit to it. But upon promising to come to them once in six weeks, the winter excepted, and to recommend them to the notice of the Society, the poor people returned to the church, repaired it in a very decent manner, purchased a Bible and Prayer-Book for the desk, and have ever since attended regularly and devoutly. Members of other societies, led no doubt by the novelty of the Church service in those parts, come to church, and seem well pleased. This place is fifteen miles from Newport, where the Whiteclay Creek congregation are erecting a large and elegant brick church, and about eight miles from New London, where there was likewise once an Episcopal church and congregation, and where there are still several members remaining. Marlborough and New London, therefore, may be conveniently connected with Newport, and all three with Newcastle, whenever this last place becomes vacant. Until then an itinerant Missionary, such as I have often taken the liberty to recommend, might be very usefully employed in these places, as well as in many others, which at present are out of the reach of established Missionaries, and by that means lose sight of the religion in which they had been educated, grow indifferent, and are in danger of being lost to the Church.

“I have the pleasure of informing you that my churches are well filled both in summer and winter, though several of my hearers have ten miles to ride. My congregations, particularly those in the country, are truly serious and religious, and firmly attached to the excellent doctrines and constitution of the Church of England. I have baptized within this year one hundred and eight infants and fourteen adults, if under that title I may be allowed to include some persons of fourteen and sixteen years of age. The number of communicants in my three stated churches is ninety—viz. at Lancaster twenty-five, at Pequea thirty-five,

and at Carnarvon thirty. The duties of so very extensive a Mission bear hard upon me, and have greatly impaired my health. But as long as my remaining constitution will permit, and I have any prospects of serving the interests of religion and the Church, I will cheerfully continue in the discharge of these duties. I find in my congregation in Lancaster several poor people, who are unable to send their children to school, or to afford them any education. They have often requested me to petition the venerable Society in their behalf, for an allowance of 10*l.* per annum towards this charitable use, in the same manner in which the Society have supported schools at other places. . . It requires not the sagacity of a politician, if he is but acquainted with the temper and disposition of people here, to foresee that the more the Church of England in the colonies is neglected, the less hold will the parent kingdom have of them. God grant that those at the helm may see these things in their proper light."

Mr. Barton mentions with warm commendation the name of one of his congregation, Mr. Nathan Evans, who, though he had acquired his estate by hard labour, had, "with a generosity unequalled in that part of the world," given a sum of 100*l.* towards the completion of the church, and purchased a glebe of forty acres for the use of the minister, besides other liberal subscriptions. Had the Church possessed many such generous and hearty supporters, its growth would have been more rapid, and its present condition on the continent of America very different from what it is.

Mr. Barton had always felt a most anxious desire to promote a knowledge of the true faith among the Indians, and was planning an excursion of a few months among their tribes, when his hopes were all dissipated by the breaking out of the Indian war, the effects of which he describes in a few sentences. "The barbarians have renewed their hostilities, and the country bleeds again under the savage knife. The dreadful news of murdering,

burning, and scalping, is daily conveyed to our ears. Our traders, with goods to the amount of near 200,000*l.*, are taken; our garrisons have been invested, and some of them forced to surrender. About fifty miles of the finest country in America are already deserted, and the poor people, having left their crops on the ground, almost ready for the sickle, are reduced to the most consummate distress.”¹

At this period the correspondence of the Missionaries became very uncertain and irregular, owing to the occupation of a great part of the country by the insurgents. The calamities of the war fell perhaps more heavily upon the Missionaries than upon any other class. Though confining themselves to the simplest and most unostentatious performance of their duty, they could hardly escape persecution.

The very observance of their ordination vows exposed them to the enmity of the people; and the treatment to which they were subjected is described in a letter of Mr. Barton’s, dated November 25, 1776:—

“I have been obliged,” he says, “to shut up my churches, to avoid the fury of the populace, who would not suffer the liturgy to be used, unless the collects and prayers for the King and royal family were omitted, which neither my conscience nor the declaration I made and subscribed when ordained would allow me to comply with; and although I used every prudent step to give no offence even to those who usurped authority and rule, and exercised the severest tyranny over us, yet my life and property have been threatened, upon mere suspicion of being unfriendly to what is called the ‘American cause.’ Indeed, every clergyman of the Church of England who dared to act upon proper principles, was marked out for infamy and insult, in consequence of which the Missionaries, in particular, have suffered greatly. Some

¹ Printed Report, 1764.

of them have been dragged from their horses, assaulted with stones and dirt, ducked in water, obliged to flee for their lives, driven from their habitations and families, laid under arrests and imprisoned. I believe they were all (or at least most of them) reduced to the same necessity with me, of shutting up their churches. It is, however, a great pleasure to me to assure the venerable Society that though I have been deprived of the satisfaction of discharging my public duties to my congregations, I have endeavoured (I trust not unsuccessfully) to be beneficial to them in another way.

“I have visited them from house to house regularly, instructed their families, baptized and catechized their children, attended their sick, and performed such other duties in private, as atoned for my suspension from public preaching.”

In 1778, having declined to take the oath of allegiance to the Commonwealth, Mr. Barton was permitted to sell his property, retire out of the state, and pass within the British lines.

Dr. Dorr, whose authority has been more than once cited, concludes his sketch of the “Early History of the Church in Pennsylvania,” with the following reference to the work of the Society in that and the neighbouring provinces:—

“Thus did this little plant, in process of time, become a mighty tree, ‘whose leaves have been for the healing of the nations.’ It has sent out its boughs into all lands. The prayer of the first founders of this Venerable Society has been most signally answered, that ‘God would prosper their work, and make it appear to be the work of His hands.’ Of its extraordinary efficacy, it has been justly said, ‘Some approach to a correct opinion may be formed from the fact, that when it began its operations, it found but five churches; and when compelled, by the war of the Revolution, to close them, it left us with two hundred and fifty.’”¹

¹ Dorr's Historical Account, p. 429.

CHAPTER VII.

NEW JERSEY.

First Settlement—Origin of Name—Rev. John Talbot—Governor Nicholson—Lillingston recommended as Bishop—Talbot's exertions to obtain a Bishop—His Second Visit to England—Accused of Jacobitism—His Retirement—Goes back to America—Charge of Disaffection—Consecrated by Non-juring Bishops—His Death and Character—Rev. John Brooke—Rev. Edward Vaughan—Rev. Colin Campbell—Rev. Thos. Thompson—Rev. M. Houdin—Rev. T. B. Chandler—Commencement of the Civil Troubles—Chandler's Publications—Embarrassments of the Missionaries—Chandler withdraws to England—Rev. Isaac Browne—Rev. John Mackean.

THE first European settlers in this province were a body of Danes, who went over in the year 1624. Other colonists from Sweden and Holland followed soon afterwards; but in 1664 the territory was taken by the English, and granted by King Charles II. to the Duke of York, who assigned it to Lord Berkeley and Sir George Carteret. The name which it still bears was given to the country in honour of Carteret, who had been Governor of the Isle of Jersey, and held it for the King. The earliest English settlers were Quakers and Anabaptists. The colony, which at first was divided into the governments of East and West Jersey, was surrendered by the proprietaries to Queen Anne in 1702.

Some general notice of the state of religion in New Jersey at this period has already been given in the second chapter.

When Mr. Keith returned to England, in August, 1704, his friend and fellow-labourer, Talbot, determined to remain in America and devote himself to the propagation of the Gospel in that country. He continued to travel and preach in various places, and sought, in particular, every opportunity to refute the errors of the Quakers. He says, in a letter to Mr. Keith, Oct. 20, 1704, "Mr. Sharpe and I have gone the rounds several times from Burlington to Amboy, to Hopewell, to Elizabethtown, to Staten Island, in our turns, with good success, God be blessed, in all places."

The next year, on the petition of the people of Burlington, the Society, with the sanction of the Bishop of London, consented to his settling at that town, which was the capital of West Jersey, and contained about two hundred families. Mr. Talbot speaks in terms of commendation of the Missionaries in general, and says they all felt the want of "a Suffragan." For a lay patron and supporter they could not have been more fortunate than in having Colonel Nicholson for Governor. "He is," says Mr. Talbot, "a man of as much prudence, temperance, justice, and fortitude, as any governor in America, without disparagement to any, and of much more zeal for the house and service of God. . . The example of his piety in the Church is as rare as his bounty towards it. No wonder, then, that all who love the Church of England are fond of Governor Nicholson, who is a true son, or rather a nursing father, of her in America." He was a liberal contributor towards the erection of churches, the support of Clergymen, and other benevolent objects, in all parts of America. "We have made it appear," writes Mr. Talbot, "that he has exhibited to the churches in these provinces about 1,000*l.*, besides what he has given

to particular persons and the poor." No zeal, however, on the part of a civil Governor could make up for the want of a spiritual head; and Mr. Talbot closes his letter with the following practical recommendation on the subject:—"Mr. John Lillingston designs, it seems, to go for England next year; he seems to be the fittest person that America affords for the office of a Suffragan; and several persons, both of the laity and the Clergy, have wished he were the man; and if my Lord of London thought fit to authorize him, several of the Clergy, both of this province and of Maryland, have said they would pay their tenths unto him, as my Lord of London's vicegerent; whereby the Bishop of America might have as honourable provision as some in Europe."¹ So eager was Mr. Talbot for the attainment of this object, that he undertook to be the bearer to England of a memorial to the Queen for a Suffragan Bishop. While at home he addressed a letter to the Society, in which he says, "God has so blest my labours and travels abroad, that I am fully resolved, by His grace, to return, the sooner the better, having done my business that I came about. Meanwhile my living in Gloucestershire is given away, but I have no reason to doubt of any encouragement from this famous Society, who have done more in four years for America than ever was done before."²

On his way back to Burlington he preached at Marblehead, where "the people offered to subscribe some hundreds of pounds to build a church at Stratford, where was a numerous auditory, and Mr. Muirson had forty communicants the first time ever the holy sacrament was rightly administered. And upon the islands, Rhode Island, Long Island, and Staten Island, I preached till the winter broke

up, and then I got to Amboy and Elizabethtown, where had been nobody since Mr. Brooke left them, who was an able and diligent Missioner as ever came over. I got home about our Lady-day [1708], where I was very welcome to all Christian people, but alas! I could not stay. I am forced to turn itinerant again, for the care of all the churches from East to West Jersey is upon me; what is the worst, I can't confirm any, nor have not a Deacon to help me."¹

His letters to the Society are filled with repeated and urgent entreaties for the appointment of a Bishop, for want of whom the efficiency of the Church was crippled, and the Missionaries left to the arbitrary rule of the magistrate. "I am very glad," he writes, June 30, 1709, to find by the President's letter, that the members of the Honourable Society are convinced that a head is necessary to the body, but if he don't make haste, he will come too late. . . Is it not strange," he adds, "that so many islands should be inhabited with Protestants, so many provinces planted by them, so many hundred thousand souls born and bred up here in America; but of all the kings, princes, and governors, all the bishops and archbishops that have been since the Reformation, they never sent anybody here to propagate the Gospel,—I say to propagate it by imparting some spiritual gift by ordination or confirmation?"²

In 1714 Mr. Talbot, disheartened at the want of support, and enfeebled by sickness, requested permission of the Society to come home. "For all this province of West Jersey," he says, Oct. 28, 1714, "there never was any Minister of Christ's Church settled but myself. I have built three churches since I came here, but have nobody

¹ MS. Letters, vol. iv. l. 52.

² Ibid. vol. v. l. 19.

to help them nor myself neither. We have had a very [sickly] time this year; I have buried more than in ten before, and many Christian people died that had nobody to visit them when sick, nor bury them when dead. Let them that have the watch, look out; 'tis they must give account; I am clear of the blood of all men abroad and at home, and so I hope to keep myself. The Society were once upon a good resolution to send Deacons to be school-masters; if they had done so to Burlington, to Bristol, to Hopewell, they might have kept the church doors open: they could read the prayers and homilies, baptize and catechise, they could visit the sick, and bury the dead, but now they must bury one another."¹

His repeated and energetic appeals for the full and complete establishment of the Church in America, exposed him to the suspicion of being disaffected to the Government; and Governor Hunter, in 1715, wrote to inform the Lords Commissioners of trade and plantations, that "Mr. Talbot had incorporated the Jacobites in the Jerseys under the name of a church, in order to sanctify his sedition and insolence to the Government."² This charge was indignantly denounced by the churchwardens and vestry of Burlington as false and calumnious, and emphatically denied by Mr. Talbot himself. "I call God to witness," he says, Oct. 1, 1715, "I know no soul in the Church of Burlington, nor in any other Church that I have planted, but is well affected to the Protestant Church of England and present government in the house of Hanover."³

He still continued labouring in his own Mission, and occasionally extending his care to the distant Churches,

¹ MS. Letters, vol. ix. p. 167.

² Ibid. vol. x. p. 178.

³ Ibid. vol. xi. p. 328.

under such discouragement as tempted many of his brethren to seek a less painful position. Thus, in May, 1718, he writes to the secretary of the Society, "All your Missioners hereabouts are going to Maryland for the sake of themselves, their wives, and their children. For my part, I cannot desert the poor flock that I have gathered, nor will I, if I have neither money, credit, nor tobacco. But if I had known as much as I do now, that the Society were not able for their parts to send neither Bishop, Priest, nor Deacon, Lecturer nor Catechist, I would never have put the people in these parts to the charge and trouble of building churches; nay, now they must be stalls or stables for Quakers' horses when they come to market or meeting."¹

Mr. Talbot came to England in 1720, and, for a short time, received the interest on Archbishop Tenison's bequest of 1,000*l.*, which was payable to some retired Missionary until a Bishop were appointed for America. Soon after his return, credible reports were received by the Society of his refusal to take the oaths to the king, or to pray for him by name in the Liturgy; and a resolution was passed to inform him that the payment of his salary would be suspended till he could clear himself of the charge.² There seems no reason to doubt that, during his visit to England, he, with Dr. Welton, had been consecrated by the non-juring Bishops. Such a step admits of no justification, but we may well suppose that he was led to take it by no personal ambition, but by that strong and earnest conviction of the absolute necessity of an episcopate for the welfare of the Church in America, of which his letters afford such abundant testimony. It appears that he occasionally assumed the episcopal dress, and that he

¹ MS. Letters, vol. xiii. p. 374.

² Journal, vol. v. p. 9.

administered the ordinance of confirmation. Whatever confusion or schism might have arisen by the irregular exercise of the episcopal office, was prevented by an order from the Privy Council for Welton's return to England, and by the death of Mr. Talbot, which occurred in 1727.

Dr. Hawks, in his "Contributions to the Ecclesiastical History of the United States," concludes a short notice of his life and labours with the following emphatic testimony:—"The Society never had, at least in our view, a more honest, fearless, and laborious Missionary."¹

The Rev. John Brooke, to whom allusion is made in the correspondence of Mr. Talbot, went out as a Missionary of the Society in 1705, and was placed by the governor, Lord Cornbury, at Elizabethtown, for the service of that and some neighbouring settlements. The number of churchmen in this Mission was at first very inconsiderable, the great bulk being Independents under the instruction of five preachers of their own sect.

Mr. Brooke's practice was to preach at seven different stations, one of them fifty miles distant; and he was, "pilgrim-like, scarce ever three days in a place." Shortly after his arrival he laid the foundation of a church at Elizabethtown, and reported that churches had been commenced both at Amboy and Freehold; while at Piscataway they had repaired a dissenters' meeting-house as a temporary arrangement. To each of these Mr. Brooke contributed the sum of ten pounds from his own salary. His exertions were suddenly terminated by death, in 1707; and several years afterwards he was still remembered with honour by his parishioners, who spoke of him as "our worthy and never-to-be-forgotten pastor, Mr. Brooke, whose labours afforded universal satisfaction

¹ Hawks, vol. ii. p. 182.

to us.”¹ He was succeeded by the Rev. Edward Vaughan, who reported his arrival in 1709, after a tedious voyage, in which he suffered much from sickness, “occasioned by the preposterous motion of the ship.” He found himself “in the midst of a vast number of Deists, Sabbatarians, and Eutychians, as also of Independents, Anabaptists, and Quakers, from which absurdities Mr. Brooke brought a considerable number of them to embrace our most pure and holy religion;” and he adds, “I hope my labours also will be attended with no less success.”²

He officiated alternately at Elizabethtown and Woodside—a settlement about ten miles off; and his half-yearly reports evidence the success of his labours. Thus his communicants, at the principal station, were, in 1712, thirty; in 1734, seventy; and in 1740, eighty-four. And not only did his flock in the more settled towns increase, but he had also a numerous congregation “in the mountains,” where he sometimes went to preach and administer the holy communion. His report, in 1731, states, that in the several stations which he visited, he had, within the compass of two years, baptized 556 children and 64 adults.³ In this useful course Mr. Vaughan continued for the space of thirty-eight years, and died in 1747. By his will he left his glebe, consisting of nine acres, with his house, to the “pious and venerable Society, for the use of the Church of England Minister at Elizabethtown, and his successors, for ever.”⁴

The Rev. Colin Campbell filled the office of Missionary, at Burlington, from 1737 to 1766. Besides his principal station, he had a very promising Mission at “Mount Holly,” about eight miles off, where the congregation gave

¹ Humphreys, p. 190.

³ Report for 1731, p. 51.

² Original Letters, vol. v. l. 77.

⁴ Journal, vol. xi. p. 24.

evident proof that the labour spent upon them had not been in vain, by building a handsome church, and conveying it to the Society, with three other trustees, of which the Missionary at Burlington was always to be one. He relates another gratifying instance of attachment to the Church. Mr. Paul Watkinson, who had been clerk of St. Mary's, Burlington, for forty-five years, left by will, after the death of his widow, his house, with a lot of land, worth 100*l.*, for the repairs of that church for ever.¹

The name of the Rev. Thomas Thompson should also be recorded. He resigned his fellowship at Christ's College, Cambridge, "out of pure zeal to become a Missionary in the cause of Christ." For five years he did faithful service in Monmouth county, and had the happiness of witnessing a great improvement in the moral condition of the people; but having come to a resolution to devote himself to the instruction of the negroes on the coast of Guinea, he announced this intention to the Society in 1750. He stated that he had deliberately made up his mind, expecting to fare hardly, and not sanguine of great success. Indeed, he saw that in the ordinary way one labourer could do but little; yet that God, who made the largest tree to spring from one poor grain of seed, might bless the labours of the meanest of his servants. He argued, that if ever the Church of Christ is to be founded amongst the negroes, somebody must lay the first stone; and in this spirit of self-devotion he requested of the Society to name him their Missionary for this purpose, and appropriate such a salary for his support as they might deem suitable. The Society accordingly appointed him to this Mission at a salary of 70*l.*, "in a firm reliance on the good providence of God,

¹ Report for 1753, p. 50.

whose grace is abundantly sufficient to perfect strength in weakness, by His blessing on our poor endeavours.”¹

The Rev. Mr. Houdin, formerly superior of a convent in Canada, having been received into communion with the Church of England in 1749, and being well testified of by various Clergymen, was appointed Missionary of Trenton, in 1753. He had the agreeable duty of announcing to the Society the conformity to the Church, of two hundred Presbyterians, and some families of Anabaptists, in the town of Amwell; and many of them, he says, “observing the peace and charity among our congregations, and the troubles and dissensions among others, contributed towards the erection of the church.”²

There is hardly any name in the annals of the American Church which is better known than that of Dr. Chandler. In whatever character he be regarded, as a Missionary, theologian, controversialist, biographer, or champion of the American episcopate—in every way he seems to demand a distinct notice. On the death of Mr. Vaughan, a memorial was addressed to the Society by the churchwardens and vestry of Elizabethtown, praying that “Mr. Chandler might be appointed as his successor; and, like many of the best Missionaries in America, he had the advantage of being recommended by Dr. Johnson, who thus introduces him:—

“January 12, 1747.

“I write a few lines at the desire of the good people of Elizabeth Town, and of Mr. Thomas Bradbury Chandler, who they desire earnestly may succeed Mr. Vaughan, as they are entirely well satisfied in him, and he in them; and he, on that account, may be very likely to do much good there. And concerning him I can truly give this testimonial, that as he was bred at this college,³

¹ Journal, vol. xi. p. 309.

² Report for 1754, p. 56.

³ Yale College, Connecticut.

and I have known him three years at least, he appears to me a truly valuable person, of good parts, and competent learning, for his time and our circumstances, being bachelor of arts of nigh two years and half standing, and of good morals and virtuous behaviour; and on all these accounts is of good estimation of all that know him. And I make no doubt that he will do every good service in answering the pious ends of the Society, if they shall think proper to employ him as catechist for the present, and in orders when he shall be of age, about a year and half hence.”¹

He was further commended by the Rev. Samuel Seabury, who had been personally acquainted with him at Yale College, as a person “of good character, descended from a family of honour and reputation in this country,” and as one who, “from his furniture in learning, prudence, gravity, sincere piety, and good temper, as well as agreeable voice,” was likely to prove “very useful in the designs of the Society.”² It is interesting to know that Mr. Chandler, as well as both Johnson and Seabury, had been educated in principles of dissent, but, on conviction, conformed to the Church. He had first been designed for the office of Catechist at the station of Bedford and North-castle, New York; but, in consequence of the foregoing recommendations, he was, in May, 1748, appointed by the Society, Catechist at Elizabethtown, New Jersey, on a stipend of 10*l.* a-year. Soon after his arrival, he reported that he was diligently discharging the duties entrusted to him, by reading prayers and a sermon to “a full, steady congregation,” on Sundays and many holidays; catechizing between services, and visiting the people of every condition.³

In 1751 he was ordained Missionary of the same station,

¹ Original Letters, vol. viii. p. 38.

² Ibid. vol. ix. p. 40.

³ Ibid. vol. x. p. 123.

including Woodbridge, on a salary now raised to 30*l.* a-year.

From the date of his first going as a Catechist, the congregation, and, what is a better test, the communicants, began to increase. He says, "December 10, 1754:— When I first came to this place, seven years ago, the number of communicants was something above forty; three years after, when I went to England, they were nigh sixty; and at present they amount to almost ninety. But the pains I have taken in order to this are considerable, both in visiting and preaching lectures in the distant parts of my Mission. By means of a monthly lecture at Woodbridge, ten miles distant, which I voluntarily undertook (and a regular attendance upon which, through all the seasons, has cost me much fatigue and many hardships), there are now twenty families professors of the Church of England, and several communicants, where, three years past, there was but one family."

These were, in point of fact, recovered from dissent, into which they had fallen from want of the ministrations of a Clergyman; and soon after Mr. Chandler commenced his visits, they built for themselves a small church.¹

There can be little doubt that in America, as in England, the prevalence of dissent is to be attributed to a deficiency in the ministrations of the Church. "As to Roman Catholics," says Mr. Chandler, July 5th, 1762, "we have none in this province. The chief enemies of the Church are the English dissenters of different denominations, who are thrice as numerous as its professors, and more active against us than our friends are for us."

In 1764 he incurred the displeasure of his congregation by refusing to allow Whitfield to preach in his pulpit,

¹ Original Letters, vol. xvi. l. 80.

a privilege which had been freely accorded to him by the Clergy of Philadelphia. But Chandler, believing that one, who had set all the laws and authorities of the Church at defiance, could not properly be admitted into the place of the teacher, remained firm, and all ill-feeling on the subject soon abated. He is led, however, to remark that, "If the Clergy say a word, even to their own people, concerning the unity of Christ's body, the nature of schism, or the necessity of authority derived from Christ in the ministers of His religion, the alarm is immediately sounded; we are stigmatized as factious, and not only so, but the venerable Society is abused on our account. If we are altogether silent on these heads, our own people grow indifferent, and in time may think it immaterial whether they are in communion with the Church, or join with a conventicle."¹ And then, after alluding to some other embarrassing questions, occasioned by the intrusion of itinerant preachers into his parish, he continues, "Extremely happy should I think myself in this case, as well as in many other difficulties which frequently arise, was there a Bishop in these parts, to whom I could apply for advice and direction. But if this is still judged to be too great a happiness for the Church in America, so long persecuted by its enemies, and deserted by many of its pretended friends, we must submit. I hope the Clergy will continue in the regular discharge of their duty with as much prudence and patience as possible, and leave the event to Providence."

Allusions now become frequent in Chandler's correspondence to the questions which at this time excited so much animosity between the colonies and the mother country. "It is no secret at home," he says, July 5th,

¹ Original Letters, vol. xvi. l. 84.

1765, "that the people in this country are greatly dissatisfied with some late proceedings of the British parliament. How such a general discontent may operate is impossible to foresee. However, I do not apprehend any considerable effects from it in this province; but, should the worst happen, I think I can answer for my brethren, at least I can promise for myself, that I will exert myself to the utmost to allay the ferment and to promote a peaceable submission to the higher powers, not only for wrath, but for conscience' sake."

In the following year, however, the aspect of affairs appeared more threatening. The spirit of resistance had become as determined as it was universal. Like many of the wisest men in this country, Dr. Chandler was desirous to see a conciliatory policy adopted, and, though resolutely opposed to the proceedings of the popular party, he maintained that much allowance was to be made for them, inasmuch as the home government had taken no pains to diffuse sounder principles among the colonists. From the date of the first settlements, successive ministries had shewn the same blind disregard of the interests of the Church which Sir Robert Walpole avowed in reference to Bishop Berkeley's noble project; and notwithstanding the stern lesson which the country has been taught by the successful rebellion of her transatlantic provinces, she seems still disposed to acquiesce in a continuance of the same short-sighted policy.

The following letter deserves to be recorded as a document full of warning and instruction on this subject:—

" Elizabethtown, January 15th, 1766.

"The duty of a Missionary in this country is now become more difficult than ever. It is hard to dissemble any truths or precepts of the Gospel, and some of them, relating to civil society, it is

now become dangerous to declare. Such an universal spirit of clamour and discontent, little short of madness, and such an opinion of oppression, prevail throughout the colonies, as, I believe, were scarcely ever seen on any occasion in any country on earth. And it seems to be the determined, inflexible resolution of most people, from Halifax to Georgia, never to submit to what they esteem so great an infringement of their essential rights as some of the late acts of the British Parliament.

“ Every friend, therefore, to the happiness of the colonies, or even of Great Britain, who is acquainted with the case as it really is, must wish that the Parliament would relax of its severity ; which yet, it must be confessed, will be no easy thing after such provocations as have been lately offered on the part of the colonies. But good policy, I humbly conceive, will rather put up with almost anything than drive matters to a dangerous extremity. Most probably the Parliament are able (although most people here pretend not to believe that they are) to enforce the Stamp Act ; yet, should they resolve to do it, a disaffection of the colonies, of which there have been no visible symptoms before, will be undoubtedly established. The Government must be put to a great expense, and the commerce of the colonies, so beneficial to England heretofore, will sink comparatively to a mere trifle ; for none will dare import anything but the bare necessities of life ; and, upon the examination that has been made, it is found that almost every real want can be supplied from ourselves. England has always been benefited nearly in proportion to the wealth and commerce of her colonies. Whether, therefore, any measures that directly tend to lessen that wealth and commerce, can finally be of service to Great Britain, is a question which may not be unworthy the attention even of those who are the guardians of her interests. The Parliament has, undoubtedly, been misinformed ; for that the colonies in general abound in wealth, and are able to pay any considerable tax to the Government, will, upon proper inquiry, be found to be as true (and indeed the assertion is founded on the same testimony) as that an American episcopate would be utterly disagreeable to more than nineteen-twentieths of all the people in America. However, we thank Mr. H—k that he did not insist

on twenty-nineteenths, which he might have done with equal veracity.

“ I do not mean by what I have said to excuse the conduct of my countrymen, for I really detest it, and do endeavour to traverse and counteract it to the utmost of my ability. And yet this apology they are entitled to, that the Government has not taken much pains to instruct them better. If the interests of the Church of England in America had been made a national concern from the beginning, by this time a general submission in the colonies to the mother country, in everything not sinful, might have been expected, not only for wrath, but for conscience’ sake. And who can be certain that the present rebellious disposition of the colonies is not intended by Providence as a punishment for that neglect? Indeed, many wise and good persons at home have had the cause of religion and the Church here sincerely at heart; and the nation, whether sensible of it or not, is under great obligation to that very worthy Society, who, by their indefatigable endeavour to propagate the Gospel and assist the Church, have, at the same time, and thereby, secured to the state, as far as their influence could be extended, the loyalty and fidelity of her American children; for, notwithstanding the general character, there are many persons amongst us governed by those principles which, so far as my observation can reach, are owing chiefly, if not altogether, to the instructions afforded by this venerable Society. That the Government may become more sensible of their services, and at length co-operate with them, as it appears to be the most probable means of restoring the happiness of Great Britain and her colonies, is the daily prayer of your very obedient and humble servant,

T. B. C.”

It will be convenient to introduce in this place, as having reference to the same subject, an extract from one of his letters of a later date. He writes, in 1771:—

“ Enough has been said to convince unprejudiced persons that it would have been true and sound policy, with regard to America at least, if the nation had paid greater attention to the interests of religion and of the Church of England in the colonies than it

has hitherto done ; and perhaps proofs still more strong and convincing may in time be seen. The dissenters in this country in general, to say nothing of their principles, have evidently too much of a republican spirit, which is always infectious ; and in proportion as this prevails, loyalty, as a matter of duty, must and will fail. The present dangerous rebellion in North Carolina would never have happened but in a part of the country where the principles of the Church of England were but little known, and never properly taught."

In the year 1767, Dr. Chandler published "An Appeal to the Public in behalf of the Church of England in America," the main purpose of which was to re-assert the undeniable claim of that branch of the Church to a resident episcopate. This simple demand of justice for the members of his own communion, excited a violent onslaught upon the Church from various quarters ; for, while the appeal was answered in an elaborate pamphlet by Dr. Chauncy of Boston, the "American Whig," of New York, commenced its weekly attack on the Church, the Bishops, and the Clergy, while the "Sentinel" undertook the same office in Philadelphia, under the auspices of Dr. Alliston. Thus Dr. Chandler was, in a manner, forced into controversy, and by various subsequent publications proved himself a most efficient champion of the Church. In reply to a newspaper attack upon the Society, and the Bishops who preached the anniversary sermons, for "perpetually ringing changes on the necessity of a Bishop in the colonies," he said, "I will tell him for his comfort that these changes will continue to be rung, and that this object will be perpetually aimed at, until the desired episcopate shall be granted, which we hope and doubt not to obtain, in a short time, at farthest."

He did not, however, allow either the political struggle which was going on before his eyes, or the part he was

compelled to take in defence of his order, to divert him from the routine of his ordinary duties. In January, 1770, he thus reports:—"Besides a regular attendance upon the public service of the Church, and all parochial duties here, I have frequently gone back into the country and preached lectures on week-days in the summer and autumn past, and more than once I have preached four days successively at different places, chiefly within the bounds of my Mission." And in July of the same year, "My congregation is as regular and respectable as it ever was, consisting of about 100 families, in which there are between seventy and eighty communicants: and the dissenters of late have become, in appearance, more friendly than ever. Some years ago few of them were to be seen in church upon any occasion; but now they sometimes crowd thither in such numbers as to be more numerous than our own people that are present. This is an indication that their prejudices against the Church abate in this place, as I believe they do throughout the country in general, notwithstanding all the arts that are used to keep them up and increase them."

And while, on the one hand, he was cheered with the hope that those who had separated themselves were becoming reconciled to the Church, he recorded his sincere gratification at the zealous efforts and sacrifices for the "settlement of the Church," which he had witnessed in the district of Amboy, where he had been making a missionary tour, and preaching every day in different places. "One subscription," he says, "had been made for erecting a parsonage-house, and another, amounting to 30*l.* sterling, for the yearly support of a Clergyman. I can hardly conceive that the poor people are able to pay such a subscription; yet they assure me they can and will, and

some of the ablest of them offer to be sponsors for the rest. In short, I never saw any people more warmly engaged in such a cause, or that were, in my opinion, so proper objects of the Society's charity."

But Dr. Chandler did not limit himself to the religious instruction of his countrymen. His own convictions, and the express directions of the Society, led him to the consideration of the best means to be adopted for the conversion of the Indians. He says, "The necessity of some more general attempts for this purpose becomes every day more evident, whether the case be viewed in a religious or political light. Dr. Cooper and Mr. Inglis lately took a journey to Sir W. Johnson's, in order to have an opportunity of a full and free conversation with him on the subject, the result of which they have transmitted to the Society. It will, undoubtedly, be difficult at first to find proper persons to engage in such a service; but the greatest difficulty of all, I apprehend, will be to support them. If the nation will not contribute to so good a work, I beg leave humbly to suggest whether it might not be proper for the Society to erect a separate fund for this use; whether a brief might not be obtained for a general collection throughout the kingdom, the income of which, when put out upon interest, shall be appropriated to the use of converting the American heathens; and whether it is not probable that this, with such benefactions as might be annually expected, would be sufficient to support as many Missionaries, Catechists, and Schoolmasters, as the Society now maintains in Nova Scotia.¹ If such a number could be employed, much success might be expected; at least a fair trial would be made of what can be done, and

¹ In the year 1770 there were six Missionaries and seven Schoolmasters in Nova Scotia.

a very great national reproach would in some measure be removed."

Dr. Chandler was now an old and experienced Missionary, well acquainted with the condition of the Church and the character of the Clergy in New Jersey, and the following is the testimony which he gives to both in the year 1774 :—

"The Church in this province makes a more respectable appearance than it ever did till very lately, thanks to the venerable Society, without whose charitable interposition there would not have been one episcopal congregation among us. They have now no less than eleven Missionaries in this district, none of whom are blameable in their conduct, and some of them are eminently useful. Instead of the small buildings out of repair in which our congregation used to assemble twenty years ago, we have now several that make a handsome appearance, both for size and decent ornament, particularly at Burlington, Shrewsbury, New Brunswick, and Newark, and all the rest are in good repair ; and the congregations in general appear to be as much improved as the churches they assemble in."

The year 1774 was a disastrous season for the Missionaries. Dr. Chandler's controversial antagonist, Mr. Livingston, author of the violent letter to the Bishop of Llandaff, in 1768, and a principal writer of the "American Whig," was sent to Congress as one of the delegates from New Jersey ; and the interest which returned him was, it is needless to say, adverse to the Church. The doctor afterwards published the "Friendly Address," to point out the dangerous consequences of resisting the Parliament, and another pamphlet under the title of "What think ye of the Congress now?" But these efforts in favour of the Government were prejudicial to his own interests as Minister of Elizabethtown. The "Friendly Address" had the effect of diminishing the contributions of his

parishioners, some of the wealthiest of whom withdrew for a season from the Church. Partly, therefore, starved into a surrender, and partly under the apprehension of some violent proceeding against him, Dr. Chandler, in 1775, withdrew from the scene of trouble, and sought refuge in England.

The struggle for independence in America was almost fatal to the Church. During that unhappy war the voice of religion was drowned in the clamours of party; and the Clergy, naturally attached to the ecclesiastical and civil institutions of their own country, were the special objects of hatred to the "sons of liberty." But, independently of their unpopularity with the partizans of independence, they were exposed to all the manifold evil and oppression which are inseparable from civil war. And herein they had to dread almost equally the approach of friend and foe. For a while, Amboy was made a garrison town by the rebels, and the Missionary, Mr. Preston, was obliged to withdraw. On his return he found "the parsonage-house so demolished that it was not habitable, the windows broken to pieces, the partitions torn down, the outhouses and fences all burnt and destroyed."¹ On the other hand, the royal army, which was besieging the place, laid waste all the surrounding country, to prevent the garrison obtaining subsistence from it; while, alternately by one party or the other, the churches were converted into barracks or hospitals.²

In an account, however summary, of the Church in New Jersey, it seems impossible to leave entirely unrecorded the name of Isaac Browne, a name which appeared in the Society's Missionary List for a full half-century. He was

¹ Original Letters, vol. xvi. l. 284.

² Ibid. l. 285.

first appointed in 1733 to the Mission of Brookhaven, in Long Island, and after eleven years' service was transferred to Newark, in New Jersey, where he continued to labour till the year 1777, when the troubles of the times compelled him to leave his Mission, "and become a wanderer in a neighbouring province."¹ His parochial returns had shown periodically the beneficial effect produced by his long and consistent ministrations. A church had been built at Second River, where the congregation increased in the proportion of three to one within a year, and a grammar-school was founded at Newark. Mr. Browne, like many of his brethren, had reason to complain of his people for withholding that temporal provision to which he was equitably entitled, and was grieved by the prevalent factiousness and party spirit. When writing to the Society on these matters, on the 6th of April, 1767, he had said, "I humbly beg leave to offer my poor opinion that these difficulties, and many more I could name, never will be removed, nor the churches in this part of the world ever flourish, without an American episcopate."² But he had worse things to endure than any arising from the selfish and perverse disposition of his own people.

In the year 1777, as already mentioned, he was forced, by the outbreak of the civil war, to seek refuge in New York, leaving his wife, servants, and all the property of which he was possessed, in the hands of the enemy. Writing two years later, in the year 1779, he says, "The condition of the Church of England in America, both Clergy and laity, is justly to be pitied. . . The judgments of God fall very heavily on the inhabitants of this land in general, and seem to be yet increasing daily, . . and no prospect of redress, that I can see, either from Heaven or

¹ Original Letters, vol. xvi. l. 56.

² Ibid. l. 35.

men, for the inhabitants have not yet learned righteousness, and consequently remain very proper instruments to execute the Divine vengeance on one another.”¹

In the last letter which he wrote to the Society, Oct. 4, 1782, he describes “the loyalists as daily suffering for the truth’s sake, and to preserve a good conscience toward God; driven from their homes, their property seized, plundered, and sold, and themselves consequently reduced to the most extreme poverty.” He grieves to feel that he is “a dead weight to the Society in consequence of age and infirmity.”

But the Society was bound, by every consideration of justice and gratitude, to continue its support to those who had been not only faithful labourers in their Master’s vineyard, but, in a manner, also, confessors of the Church; and Mr. Browne, therefore, with many others, who had been driven from their Missions by the disorders of the times, continued to receive his salary. In 1784 he went over to Annapolis, in Nova Scotia, where he survived, though in much affliction and poverty, till the year 1787;² a year in which the colonial Church, having been brought down to the lowest depth of depression, again renewed its strength, and rose up with eagle wings, through the new spirit infused into it by the erection of the first bishopric for the colonies.

One other Clergyman only remains to be noticed in connexion with this colony. The Rev. John Mackean was ordained to the Mission of New Brunswick, including Piscataway and Spotswood, in 1757, and soon afterwards the churchwardens and vestry, in writing to thank the Society for sending so excellent a successor to their “late worthy Missionary, Mr. Seabury,” went on to say

¹ Original Letters, vol. xvi. l. 58.

² Journal, vol. xxiv. p. 417.

that they saw, "with great pleasure the Church of England, by the benevolence of the Society, and the prudent choice they make of discreet men, raising its head in an infant country, where, at its first settlement, different sects, as well as popery, had taken footing."¹ Mr. Mackean devoted himself to the conscientious discharge of his duties, as far as a somewhat delicate constitution would permit, in the various parts of his Mission, and made occasional visits to Reading's Town, twenty-five miles distant.

The result of his labours was a gradual increase in the number of his congregations till his removal to Amboy, in 1763, where his services were equally appreciated. In a letter dated October 12, 1767, Dr. Chandler informed the Society that, "wasted away with a tedious disorder, the worthy, the eminently useful and amiable Mr. Mackean is judged by his physicians to be at the point of death. Probably," he adds, "a better man was never in the Society's service."²

¹ Report for 1759.

² Original Letters, vol. xvi. l. 91.

CHAPTER VIII.

NEW ENGLAND.

RHODE ISLAND AND CONNECTICUT.

Rev. James Honyman—Difficulties under which the early Missionaries laboured—Rev. George Pigot—Dean Berkeley—His project of a College at Bermuda—His return, and disposal of the Fund raised for the College—Yale College—Cutler, Browne, and Johnson—Their conforming to the Church—Go to England for Ordination—Are admitted to Degrees at Oxford and Cambridge—Death of Mr. Browne—Return of Dr. Cutler and Mr. Johnson—Dr. Cutler takes charge of the Mission of Boston—Disorders produced by Whitfield's Preaching—Testimony to Dr. Cutler's Literary and Scientific Attainments—His Death—Rev. Samuel Johnson—Account of the Mission of Stratford—Candidates recommended for Orders—Want of Church Education—Mr. Johnson receives the Honorary Degree of D.D. from Oxford—Elected President of King's College, New York—Returns to Stratford—His Death and Character.

SOME reference has already been made to the first settlements in New England, under which general title are included the colonies of Connecticut, Rhode Island, Massachusetts, New Hampshire, Maine, and Vermont. We shall commence with Rhode Island, since, though the smallest in territorial extent, it was the first of the provinces above-named to which a Missionary was sent by the Society. The Rev. James Honyman took up his residence at Newport, in 1704, and there continued to administer the ordinances of religion for the long period of five-and-forty years. Besides the care of his own particular district, he made frequent visits to the neighbouring towns on the continent, until another minister was assigned to them. Very early in his career he felt the great disadvantage under which the Church was labouring for want

of a superintending head. Writing to the Secretary of the Society in 1709, he says, "You can neither well believe, nor I express, what excellent services for the cause of religion a Bishop would do in these parts;" and he expresses a conviction that, if one were sent, "these infant settlements would become beautiful nurseries, which now seem to languish for want of a father to oversee and bless them."¹ In 1714 he presented a memorial to Governor Nicholson on the religious condition of Rhode Island.² The people, he says, were divided among Quakers, Anabaptists, Independents, Gortonians, and infidels, with a remnant of true Churchmen. He then proceeds to suggest a remedy in the settlement of a competent number of Clergy in the several townships under the jurisdiction of a Bishop, the establishment of schools, and a proper encouragement from the civil government. A new and most painful duty was imposed upon him in 1723, in attending daily, for nearly two months, a great number of pirates, who were brought into Rhode Island, tried, convicted, and executed.

There is probably not a single Mission at the present time in the whole of our North American colonies so beset with difficulties and discouragements, and so entirely dependent upon the zeal and judgment of the individual Clergymen in charge, as were most of the parishes in the now independent states at the commencement of the last century. No better instance can be given than this of Rhode Island, where a single Clergyman was set to labour in the midst of a population hostile for the most part to the Church, and without the smallest support from secular authority.

In 1728 Mr. Honyman, and another clergyman, the Rev.

¹ MS. Letters, vol. v. p. 154.

² Ibid. vol. ix. p. 387.

J. Macsparran, who, since 1719, had occupied the Mission of Narraganset, sent home a joint memorial, in which, after complaining of the "frowns and discouragements" to which they were subjected by the Government, they stated that there was only "one baptized Christian in their whole legislature."¹

In a subsequent letter Mr. Honyman introduces to the Society Mr. Samuel Seabury,² who had been a dissenting preacher, but had become, on principle, a convert to the Church; and announces the arrival at Providence of Mr. Browne, recently ordained in England.

The only further extract that need be given from Mr. Honyman's correspondence, is dated September, 1732, and occurs in connexion with an application to the Society for a small increase to his stipend to enable him to provide for his family. "Between New York and Boston, the distance of 300 miles, and wherein are many Missions, there is not a congregation in the way of the Church of England that can pretend to compare with mine, or equal it in any respect; nor does my Church consist of members that were of it when I came here, for I have buried them all; nor is there any one person now alive that did then belong to it, so that our present appearing is entirely owing to the blessing of God upon my endeavours to serve Him."³

In consequence of his urgent representations of the want of a Missionary at Providence, a place about thirty miles distant from Newport, and where he had preached to such numbers that no house could hold them, and his hearers were obliged to adjourn to the open fields, the Society sent there, in 1742, the Rev. George Pigot. The people had already, by great exertions, erected a wooden church, and

¹ MS. Letters, vol. xxi. p. 417.

² Father of the first Bishop of Connecticut. ³ MS. Letters, vol. xxiv. p. 137.

the congregation rapidly increased after Mr. Pigot's arrival. Before, however, entering upon this Mission, he was stationed for a time at Stratford, where he says, "Our cause flourishes mightily in this country; indeed, so much so, that our neighbours look on with astonishment. The Mathers are diligent in sending circular letters to all places, exhorting them to trace the pious steps of their forefathers."¹ It was to Mr. Pigot that Mr. Johnson and his friends first communicated their leaning to the Church of England, and on their invitation he attended the conference at New-Haven College, which ultimately ended, as has been stated already, in their conforming to the Church.

We cannot pass by this period of American Church history without referring to one of the noblest instances of self-devotion that is to be found in the annals of Christianity. In 1725, Dr. Berkeley, then recently promoted to the valuable deanery of Derry, published a "Proposal for the better supplying of Churches in our Foreign Plantations, and for converting the savage Americans to Christianity." His plan was to erect a college in Bermuda, for the education of the children of the planters and of the native Americans, with a view to prepare them as Missionaries. But he did not publish this project as the speculation of a benevolent philosopher, for more practical men to take up and act upon if they thought good. Although at the height of fame and fortune, the most distinguished in a society of distinguished men, he offered to resign his rich and honourable preferment, and devote the remainder of his life to the education of the children of the wild natives of America, on a maintenance of 100*l.* a-year. And such was the effect of this noble enthusiasm,

¹ MS. Letters, vol. xvii. p. 346.

that three fellows of Trinity College, Dublin—men whose names are deserving of lasting honour, William Thompson, Jonathan Rogers, and James King—Clergymen and Masters of Arts, offered themselves as his companions, and freely consented to exchange the dignified position and secure prospects of a Dublin fellowship for the laborious and irksome duty of teaching savage children in an obscure island of the Atlantic, on a provision of 40*l.* a-year.

Dean Swift, who gave Berkeley a letter of introduction to Lord Carteret, describes the whole project with his characteristic humour. He says, September 3, 1724, “There is a gentleman of this kingdom first gone for England; it is Dr. George Berkeley, Dean of Derry, the best preferment among us, being worth about 1,100*l.* a-year. . . He is an absolute philosopher with regard to money, titles, and power; and for three years past has been struck with a notion of founding a university at Bermuda. He hath seduced several of the hopefulest young Clergymen and others here, many of them well provided for, and all of them in the fairest way of preferment. . . He showed me a little tract, which he designs to publish, and there your Excellency will see his whole scheme of a life academico-philosophical of a college founded for Indian scholars and Missionaries, where he most exorbitantly proposeth a whole hundred pounds a-year for himself, forty pounds for a fellow, and ten for a student. His heart will break if his deanery be not taken from him, and left to your Excellency’s disposal. I discourage him by the coldness of courts and ministers, who will interpret all this as impossible and a vision; but nothing will do. And therefore I do humbly entreat your Excellency, either to use such persuasions as will keep one of the first men in this kingdom for learning and virtue

quite at home, or assist him by your credit to compass his romantic design, which, however, is very noble and generous, and directly proper for a great person of your excellent education to encourage.”¹

The plan having been recommended to the King's favourable attention, His Majesty was pleased to grant a charter for the proposed institution, under the name of St. Paul's College, Bermuda, to consist of a President and nine Fellows, who were bound to maintain and educate Indian scholars at an annual cost of 10*l*. Dr. Berkeley was named the first President, and his three companions above-mentioned Fellows. In reply to an address from the House of Commons, the sum of 20,000*l*. out of lands in St. Christopher's was promised by the Minister; and several private subscriptions were raised for promoting what the King in his answer to the address had denominated so “pious an undertaking.”

The Dean set sail in September, 1728, for Rhode Island, with the intention of purchasing lands on the American continent for the endowment of his college.

But he was leaning on a broken reed in trusting to such a Minister as Walpole. The greater part of the fund out of which the purchase-money of estates for the sustenance of the college was to be paid, had already been bestowed as a marriage portion on the Princess Royal; and when the Bishop of London (Gibson) applied to Sir Robert Walpole to redeem his pledge, after many previous excuses, the Bishop at length received this very characteristic answer: “If you put this question to me as a Minister, I must and can assure you that the money shall most undoubtedly be paid as soon as suits with public convenience; but if you ask me as a friend, whether Dean Berkeley should continue

¹ Life of Bishop Berkeley, prefixed to his Works, p. 7, note.

in America, expecting the payment of 20,000*l.*, I advise him by all means to return home to Europe, and to give up his present expectations." Thus, to the same Minister attaches the shame of having defeated the two noblest projects that were ever formed for the benefit of the American Church—the one for the erection of four Bishoprics, in 1715, and the other for the establishment of a Missionary College, at Bermuda, in 1729.

On receiving this answer, the Dean had no alternative but to bear his disappointment as he best might, and abandon "a scheme whereon he had expended much of his private fortune, and more than seven years of the prime of his life."¹ Having distributed the books which he carried over with him, he returned to London, and soon afterwards, in February, 1731-32, preached the anniversary sermon before the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel. As he had himself resided for two years in Rhode Island, and had thus had the best opportunities of learning the character which the Clergy bore in that and the neighbouring colonies, it is an act of simple justice to record his deliberate testimony in their favour. "I speak it knowingly," he says, "that the Ministers of the Gospel in those provinces which go by the name of New England, sent and supported at the expense of this Society, have, by their sobriety of manners, discreet behaviour, and a competent degree of useful knowledge, shown themselves worthy of the choice of those who sent them."²

This subject cannot better be concluded than by citing the following noble testimony of Sir James Mackintosh to the genius, learning, and, above all, the Christian devotedness, of Bishop Berkeley:—

¹ Life of Bishop Berkeley, p. 11

² Sermon, p. 21.

“Ancient learning, exact science, polished society, modern literature, and the fine arts, contributed to adorn and enrich the mind of this accomplished man. All his contemporaries agreed with the satirist in ascribing

‘To Berkeley every virtue under heaven.’

Adverse, factious, and hostile wits concurred only in loving, admiring, and contributing to advance him. The severe sense of Swift endured his visions ; the modest Addison endeavoured to reconcile Clarke to his ambitious speculations. His character converted the satire of Pope into fervid praise. Even the discerning, fastidious, and turbulent Atterbury said, after an interview with him, ‘So much understanding, so much knowledge, so much innocence, and such humility, I did not think had been the portion of any but angels until I saw this gentleman.’

“Lord Bathurst told me that, the members of the Scriblerus Club being met at his house at dinner, they agreed to rally Berkeley, who was also his guest, on his scheme at Bermudas. Berkeley, having listened to the many lively things they had to say, begged to be heard in his turn, and displayed his plan with such an astonishing and animating force of eloquence and enthusiasm, that they were struck dumb ; and after some pause, rose all up together with earnestness, exclaiming, ‘Let us set out with him immediately.’ It was when thus beloved and celebrated that he conceived, at the age of forty-five, the design of devoting his life to reclaim and convert the natives of North America ; and he employed as much influence and solicitation as common men do for their most prized objects, in obtaining leave to resign his dignities and revenues, to quit his accomplished and affectionate friends, and to bury himself in what must have seemed an intellectual desert. After four years’ residence at Newport, in Rhode Island, he was compelled, by the refusal of Government to furnish him with funds for his college, to forego this work of heroic, or rather godlike, benevolence ; though not without some consoling forethought of the fortune of the country where he had sojourned.

“ ‘ Westward the course of empire takes its way :
 The first four acts already past ;
 A fifth shall close the drama with the day—
 Time's noblest offspring is its last.”¹

Before quitting this subject, it may be proper to mention, that many years after his return, Berkeley, then Bishop of Cloyne, directed the balance of the sum which was originally contributed for the erection and endowment of a college at Bermuda, and which had never been reclaimed by the subscribers, to be paid to the Society, for the furtherance of its designs in the Colonies. The offer was made in the following letter, addressed to Dr. Bearcroft, the Secretary. It bears no date, but is indorsed 1747 :—

“ REV. SIR,—Two hundred pounds of the money contributed towards the college intended at Bermuda I have left many years lodged in the bank of Messrs. Hoare and Arnold in Fleet-street, designing to return it (as I had already done by other sums) to the donors when known. But, as these continue still unknown, and there is no likelihood of my ever knowing them, I think the properest use that can be made of that sum is, to place it in the hands of your Society for Propagating the Gospel, to be employed by them in the furtherance of their good work, in such manner as to them shall seem most useful. If the Society thinks fit, I believe fifty pounds of it might be usefully employed in purchasing the most approved writings of the divines of the Church of England, to which I would have added the Earl of Clarendon's History of the Civil Wars, and the whole sent as a benefaction to Harvard College,² at Cambridge, near Boston, New England, as a proper means to inform their judgment and dispose them to think better of our Church.

“ I am, Rev. Sir,

“ Your faithful humble Servant,

“ G. CLOYNE.”³

¹ Dissertation on the Progress of Ethical Philosophy, pp. 209, 210.

² So named after John Harvard, who, in 1638, bequeathed one half of his estate, and all his library, to the College.—*Bancroft*, vol. i. p. 459.

³ Original Letters, vol. viii. l. 192.

As it may be interesting to many readers to know what were the books recommended by so distinguished a man, we subjoin the postscript of a second letter, dated April 18, 1747.

“As you intimated a desire that I should name some more books, I have ventured to set down the following, with due submission, nevertheless, to the judgment of the Venerable Society :—Hooker, Chillingworth, the Sermons of Barrow, Tillotson, Sharp, and Clarke, Scott’s Christian Life, Pearson on the Creed, Burnet on the Thirty-nine Articles, Burnet’s History of the Reformation, Abp. Spotswood’s History of the Church of Scotland, Clarendon’s History, Prideaux’s Connection, Cave’s *Historia Literaria Ecclesiæ*, Hammond’s Annotations, Pole’s *Synopsis Critic.*, the *Patres Apostolici* published by Le Clerc, with the Dissertations of Pearson, &c., on the Epistles of Saint Ignatius. These, I guess, will amount to about thirty pounds; if approved of, the Society will be pleased to add as many more as will make up the fifty pounds, or otherwise they will be pleased to name them all.”

How valuable such books were likely to be may be conjectured from a memorable event which had occurred a few years previously—I mean the ordination, under very peculiar circumstances, of four graduates of Yale¹ College, all of whom had been born and nurtured in the Presbyterian persuasion, while two of them were actually preachers.

On the 18th January, 1722-3, letters were read at a general meeting of the Society, strongly recommending to its regard and good offices Mr. Timothy Cutler, late President of Yale College; Mr. Daniel Brown, late tutor of the same; and Mr. Samuel Johnson, late pastor at West-haven.

The history of their conformity is remarkable. They

¹ This College derives its name from one of its principal benefactors, Elihu Yale, who was born at Newhaven, in 1648.—*Holmes’s American Annals*, vol. ii. p. 104. To this College Berkeley gave his estate, which is known to this day as “the Dean’s Farm.”—*Dr. Jarvis*.

were intimate friends, of literary character, and an inquiring disposition. At the commencement of the eighteenth century, learning was at a very low ebb in New England, and those who had been educated in traditional hostility to the Church of England had but little chance of acquiring more correct notions on the subject of church government by the study of ecclesiastical history. But, about the year 1714, a library containing, besides many valuable works of science, several of the best writers of theology, as Barrow, Patrick, Lowth, Sharp, Scott, Whitby, and Sherlock, was sent over to the College, which was then at Saybrook. This importation was as springs of water to the thirsty land.

The young friends entered upon the course of study thus opened before them with avidity. The doctrines and practices of the primitive Church came under examination; and they could trace but little resemblance to the apostolic model in either the discipline or the worship established among themselves. This naturally occasioned them great uneasiness and misgiving. They determined candidly to re-examine the whole subject, and to read the best works on both sides of the controversy. The consequence was, that their doubts of the validity of congregational ordination were changed into a serious conviction that it was altogether without authority. The frequent meetings and conferences of the friends, two of them occupying chief places in Yale College, could not fail to excite attention. The trustees became alarmed at the reports which were circulated on the subject; and, accordingly, the day after the Commencement, they requested an interview with them in the college library. Messrs. Cutler, Brown, Johnson, Wetmore, Hart, Eliot, and Whittelsey, attended, and were desired, from the youngest to the eldest, to state

their views on the matters in dispute. Thus challenged, some of them confessed their doubts of the validity of Presbyterian orders, while others plainly declared that they considered them invalid. This was in September 1722. They were entreated to reconsider their opinions, and a formal disputation was subsequently held; but the ultimate result was, that three of them, Messrs. Cutler, Brown, and Johnson, determined upon resigning their respective stations, and seeking holy orders from the Bishops of the English Church.¹ Mr. Wetmore adopted the same course a few months later. Messrs. Hart, Eliot, and Whittelsey, although apparently preferring the episcopal regimen, yet not deeming Presbyterianism unlawful, remained in their old position; honourably abstaining, however, from taking any part in opposition to the Church.

The three friends who had so deliberately, and at such a sacrifice, resolved upon seeking admission into the Church, sailed from Boston on the 5th of November, and, after a stormy passage, landed at Ramsgate on the 15th of December. They immediately proceeded to Canterbury, but were obliged to wait three days for the stage-coach. Thus an opportunity was afforded them of witnessing a most striking contrast to all that they had left behind them. The beauty, the order, the solemnity of the service must have proved an indescribable comfort to men who had just emerged from the bare and modern system of the Presbyterians; while the magnificence of the cathedral, and the music of its choir, must have been strangely different from all that they had been accustomed to in the wilderness of New England. During their stay in Canter-

¹ The change in their views is said to have been effected mainly by "Scott's Christian Life."

bury, they received every attention from the excellent Dean Stanhope and the prebendaries ; and, on their arrival in town, they were cordially welcomed by the Bishop of London (Dr. Robinson) and the principal members of the Society. The following testimony to their high character and disinterested motives is given in a letter from the churchwardens and vestry of Rhode Island, which was read at a general meeting of the Society. " It is plain these gentlemen have, in this important affair, acted like Christians and men of virtue and honour, without any sordid private views of interest or advancement ; for as they were not dismissed their posts and offices for any vice or immorality, they being universally acknowledged, and even by our Church's greatest enemies, to be persons of unspotted characters and the nicest virtue, so neither were they compelled to a conformity by any other necessity than that of pursuing the dictates of a good conscience ; and for the sake of that indeed they have forsaken their dearest interest and valuable settlements."¹ There was also read, on the same occasion, a letter from the Rev. James Orem, who said, " I can scarce express the hardships they have undergone, and the indignities that have been put upon them by the worst sort of dissenters, who bear sway here : and several honest gentlemen, who declared for the Church with them, but, by reason of the unhappy circumstances of their families, can't go for England, lie now under all the hardships and pressure that the malice and rage of the implacable enemies of our excellent Church and constitution can subject them to ; but I hope their suffering condition will be taken into consideration at home."

After the usual examination, the three candidates

¹ MS. Letters, vol. xvi. 311.

were admitted into holy orders, first as deacons, and then as priests, in St. Martin's church, by Dr. Green, Bishop of Norwich, and vicar of the parish, who officiated for the Bishop of London, then at the point of death. It was afterwards determined that Mr. Cutler should be sent to Boston, Mr. Browne to Bristol (New England), and Mr. Johnson to Stratford.¹

Such was the plan for supplying some of the more important stations in the Colony; but it pleased God to call away one of those who had just been separated to His more especial service, before he could enter upon his ministry. Mr. Browne was seized with the small-pox within a week after his ordination, and rapidly sank under the disease.

His surviving friends, during their short stay in England, visited the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge, where they were received with every mark of distinction, and admitted to honorary degrees. They took every opportunity, both there and in London, of entering fully into the condition of the Colonial Church, and of showing the injury it was suffering for want of an episcopate. They who had crossed the ocean to obtain lawful ordination, and were even then mourning over the death of a companion who had fallen a victim to the disease of the country, had good right to speak warmly on this subject; and in Bishop Gibson, who had now succeeded to the see of London, they found not merely an attentive listener, but one who proved himself most anxious to redress the evils of which they complained.

Dr. Cutler and Mr. Johnson returned, in the summer of 1724, to their own country, and immediately proceeded to

¹ Chandler's Life of Johnson, p. 35.

take charge of the Missions which had been assigned to them.

That of Dr. Cutler, it has already been stated, was in the important town of Boston, and it is worthy of remark that his first letter to the Society, dated January 4, 1724, contains a strongly expressed opinion that new life would be given to the American Church by the appointment of a Bishop to preside over it. Immediately upon his arrival he set himself to complete the Church in which he was to minister. Three years afterwards he reports, that the congregation had grown from 400 persons to 700 or 800. At this time, the population, which was rapidly on the increase, amounted to upwards of 20,000; of which the members of the Church constituted about a sixth or a seventh part. The remainder consisted of Presbyterians, Independents, Anabaptists, and Quakers.²

From time to time Dr. Cutler sent accounts to the Society of the numbers he had baptized, including generally a few adult persons, and frequently some negroes. Additions, too, were very often made to his congregation by the admission of dissenters. In 1728 he recounts the case of Samuel Freeman, who had been born and brought up a dissenter, but had, notwithstanding, "on sober conviction, without any temporal views, and in a most inoffensive manner, come into our communion, still retaining an excellent reputation among all that knew him." He died young, and left by his will 1,000*l.* of New England money, one-half for the Church, the other for the education of episcopal scholars at Harvard College.³ Many from that institution were in the habit of joining Dr. Cutler's congregation, expressing "great affection to the Church of

¹ MS. Letters, vol. xix. p. 466.

² Ibid. vol. xx. p. 260.

³ Ibid. vol. xxi. p. 416.

England, and wanting nothing but a resident Bishop to invite them into it.”¹

But the mass of the people were still “without,” and the anxious Pastor was frequently subjected to the pain of seeing his own quiet flock disturbed by the wild doctrines of intruding teachers. The excesses to which the people were led by their fanatical guides, may be gathered from the following extracts. In thanking the Society for some books which he had received, Dr. Cutler says, June 17th, 1742, “Those against enthusiasm are very seasonable, and have had very good effects; but they oppose a mighty torrent, whereby, in many places, all sense, and reason, and Scripture, and counsel, and order, have been borne down. We have had in our conventicles and streets everything wild and inconsistent; in our towns, families, and neighbourhoods, discord and distraction, which has ended the lives of some, and the usefulness of others, and stagnated trade and industry. Connecticut government has groaned much under this burden, made laws against it, and sent out of their government one Davenport, a very troublesome person in this kind. He is come into this government, and the 28th instant entered this great town, and, with considerable company, sang hymns in a procession to his lodgings, and, in the like manner, went the next day, the space of near half a mile, into our common, and held forth to many thousands; and after promising them the like service this day, he returned as he went; all which is like to continue and increase the lamentable disorders and confusions now among us. But through Divine goodness our churches, though not free from trouble, are comparatively in a good degree of quiet,

¹ MS. Letters, vol. xxi. p. 465.

and many dissenters have observed our happiness in it, and we hope will see reason to come to us."

He gives the following returns of his Mission:—"There are ordinarily about seventy at our communion, and the parishioners are somewhat more than six hundred. We have in this town ten independent congregations; the number being increased by the division of one society, upon differences that arose about one of their teachers, who now hath a new conventicle erected for him. And there are three smaller congregations of French, Anabaptists, and Quakers: Papists, I believe, we have many, but they are so dispersed, disguised, and concealed, that it is next to impossible to enumerate them."¹

We learn from what follows that Whitfield had been at Boston and had left behind him, as at other places, a legacy of discord and confusion.

"There is peace, and, I hope, edification, too, in my Church. The greatest interruption to it at present, here and elsewhere, is the enthusiasm Mr. Whitfield hath sowed among us, and which now, in his absence, puts itself forth in dismal fruits throughout the country. There are enough to cherish the ill work begun by him; among others, many illiterate tradesmen are helping it forward, pretending a call to the public exercise of their gifts of praying and preaching, and are now vying with, and probably will jostle out, sundry of their teachers in one place or another. The teachers, disaffected to our present commotions, are afraid of stemming the popular fury, observing in some of their brethren the ill consequence of it. Connecticut is reported to be a scene of the most dreadful disorders at this time."²

The next extract will show that the dissenters were the principal sufferers from that spirit of dangerous excitement which they were the first to encourage.

¹ Original Letters, vol. i. l. 14.

² Ibid. vol. i. l. 18.

“The dissenting interest now suffers greatly from that animosity and confusion which enthusiasm has spread all over this town and country; and a prevailing cry among them is for ‘sounder doctrine, and regenerate and converted ministers.’ This multiplies separations, and many have forsaken their stated places of worship, and their former teachers, and heaped up others, gifted men and women, whom they attend on the Sundays in private houses; besides that several new congregations are formed by it. And it is probable that, by such private meetings in this town, we may have a new Anabaptist conventicle set up, if not some others. . . . However, there is reason sufficient for us all to be weary of these things; the inconveniences are general, and may reach many succeeding generations. Order, peace, justice, and relative duties, become very low prized. Religion is corrupted in theory and practice, and we fear many will be tempted to lay all aside. Books of this unhappy tendency, books Calvinistic, enthusiastical, and Antinomian, do abound.¹

A few more passages may be quoted, illustrative of the effects of appealing to the feelings of an ignorant populace, without any attempt to inform their reason, or to enlighten their conscience.

“June 11th, 1741.—The ill effects of Mr. Whitfield’s visit to us might in some measure have been worn off could we have been preserved from his writings, and those of his converts and followers, now spread all over our country, with no sufficient number of the excellent and various antidotes that England is furnished with; and from those who, with his spirit, have since carried on his designs with too great success, I need mention only one, Gilbert Tennent, a teacher living to the southward, who visited us the last winter, and afflicted us more than the most intense cold and snow that ever was known among us, and kept even the most tender people travelling night and day to hear the most vulgar, crude, and boisterous things from him, to the ruin of the health of many, and the poisoning of more with unsound divinity; so that charity is much extinguished, order violated, visionaries,

¹ Original Letters, vol. i. l. 15.

young and old, abound and think themselves obliged to exhibit their gifts of praying and expounding to all that will attend them.

"I believe the Episcopal Clergy are generally guarding against these inconveniences and dangers, and hope not to fail on my part, as I would not (by the grace of God) in any other point of duty."¹

"September 25th, 1741.—The Society do much oblige their Missionaries by the good books they send them, especially those occasioned by the disorders and confusions Mr. Whitfield and his disciples have wrought among us. It would be happier still had we greater numbers to disperse, to allay the dismal ferment now raised. For, though at present the operations of reason are stifled in thousands, and many families and places are perfect bedlams, yet there are some whom good books and arguments are welcome to, and are ready to benefit others at lucid intervals. I am able to pronounce upon the good effects of sundry books sent to us; but one we have not had before, namely, "The trial of Mr. Whitfield's Spirit," and there being but two sets, it cannot be much communicated. My opinion is, that it would highly serve us were it spread abroad; but modesty will not allow me to deliver it to the Society without facts to strengthen it."²

"June 30th, 1743.—I know not whether our visionary feuds are at the height, or when they will end; but, thank God, they are much kept in the bounds of those who began them. This the soberest people see, lamenting their unhappiness compared with ours; and many are perfectly bewildered, and in anxious uncertainty, when they see their teachers with their "Testimonies" and "Counter Testimonies," (a copy of such I now trouble the honourable Society with,) disputing and contending with, accusing and excusing one another in pulpit, print, and conversation, and those of either side in several places scarce able to keep their congregations; and when, to an impartial view, notwithstanding all that is pretended, morality and peace are sensibly decaying and departing from us; and as to our country towns, many of them are every now and then rioting in their enthusiasms."³

¹ Original Letters, vol. iii. l. 5.

² Ibid. l. 53.

³ Ibid. vol. iv. l. 30.

In a letter dated December, 1744, Dr. Cutler gives an account of the effects of Mr. Whitfield's return to the country:—"Enthusiasm might have subsided sooner if he had not renewed his visit. He has brought town and country into trouble. Multitudes flock after him, but without that fervency and fury as heretofore. For some are ashamed of what is past; others, both of teachers and people, make loud opposition, being sadly hurt by the animosities, divisions, and separations, that have ensued upon it, and the sad intermissions of labour and business; and observing libertine principles and practice advancing on it, and the Church little ruffled by such disorders, but growing in numbers and reputation. Mr. Whitfield keeps distant from the episcopal clergy, and they from him, labouring all the while to keep their flocks from the devious paths he would entice them into, and, I hope, with good success."¹

After a time the violence of religious phrensy appears to have abated; and it is instructive to observe that it tended, in no slight degree, to the strengthening of that Church against which it was directed.

"1746.—The tempest of enthusiasm is over, though the being of it is not. The itinerants that come to us in Mr. Whitfield's spirit find not the encouragement in this town they were wont to do. Should Mr. Whitfield visit us from the southward, his operations would, I believe, be weaker than heretofore. The Church, to be sure, apprehends the less disturbance from him the oftener he visits us. The dissenters who cherished him are now the sufferers, and his particular friends the most; their teachers not contenting many of their own people, who separate from them because unregenerate and unconverted. Many dissenters are awakened by these disorders, inclined or repairing to the Church

¹ Original Letters, vol. v. l. 55.

as their only refuge. Others can't conceal the tokens of their sorrow, but are not very free to confess their errors."¹

In December of the same year he says, that on Christmas-day the dissenters attended the holy communion in great numbers, "who generally think the better of our Church under Mr. Whitfield's invectives against it; and many of them take it as a refuge from those corrupt principles and those disorders he has spread among them."²

Almost every letter written about this period contains some reference to the wild phrensy of enthusiasm which had been excited by Whitfield, and kept up by his still more violent followers. But worse consequences ensued. "We must lament," says Dr. Cutler, June 26th, 1749, "the remarkable growth of principles very unfriendly to revelation, and the main articles of it. I hope the Missionaries are not wanting, in some degree, to an opposition to these things; but even many sober dissenters do think a resident Bishop would be a blessing in this respect; and not a few seem to rejoice at the news encouraging a hope of it, though others, and the much bigger number, are ready, according to their power, to defeat it. And if they should make a representation to that purpose, I doubt not but every honest Churchman in the plantations is ready, to his utmost, to clear off what objections may be thrown in the way, as well as to give a Bishop a very reverend and hearty welcome."³

Six months afterwards he again alludes to the presence of a Bishop as the remedy for many of the disorders under which they were suffering. "Might we but welcome a resident Bishop, (as we apprehend multitudes, many more than are generally known, are ready to do,) the Church

¹ Original Letters, vol. vii. l. 16.

² Ibid.

³ Ibid. vol. x. l. 63.

might be a retreat from these miseries and disorders, and effectually invite all but the incurable.”¹

And again, May 17th, 1751 : “ There is no true Churchman here but mourns under the obstructions there are to the settlement of Bishops with us ; but this does not lessen our obligations to those great and good men that have been zealous in our favour.”²

It is edifying to see a man of Dr. Cutler’s intellectual powers devoting himself, through a long life, to the humble duties of a Missionary. That he had acquired a considerable reputation for science and learning, is plain from the testimony of Dr. Miller, in his “ Retrospect of the Eighteenth Century.” He says, “ In Connecticut, at this time, literature and science were, on the whole, gaining ground. The appointment of the Rev. Dr. Cutler as President of Yale College, was an auspicious event to that institution. He was a man of profound and general learning in the various branches of knowledge cultivated in his day, particularly in oriental literature, and presided over the seminary he was called to superintend with dignity, usefulness, and general approbation.” In a note we are furnished with the following additional particulars :—

“ The Rev. Dr. Timothy Cutler received his education at Harvard College, where he graduated in 1701.

“ In 1710 he was ordained and installed Minister of a Church in Stratford, according to the constitution of the Churches in Connecticut. In 1719 he was chosen President of Yale College, and entered on the duties of the office the same year. In 1722 he relinquished the congregational communion, and soon afterwards went to England, and received orders in the Episcopal Church. He received

¹ Original Letters, vol. xi. l. 10.

² Ibid. vol. xii. l. 18.

the degree of doctor in divinity from both the universities of Oxford and Cambridge. He became Rector of Christ Church, in Boston, in the year 1723, where he died in 1765. He is represented to have been a man of strong natural powers, and of extensive learning. He was well acquainted with classic literature, and was one of the best oriental scholars ever educated in America. The Rev. Dr. Stiles says, 'he had more knowledge of the Arabic than any man in New England before him, except President Chauncey, and his disciple, the first Mr. Thatcher.' Dr. Cutler was also well skilled in logic, metaphysics, moral philosophy, theology, and ecclesiastical history."¹

The course of Mr. Johnson at Stratford, was, in many respects, similar to that of his friend, Dr. Cutler, at Boston. Stratford itself contained, at the time of his taking charge of the Mission, about thirty episcopal families; and the neighbouring towns of Fairfield, Newton, Ripton, about forty more. Mr. Johnson was, at that time, the only Clergyman in the province; and, as doubtless he had anticipated, was, on his first return there, regarded as an apostate. He makes no complaint, however, of the treatment which he received, but only laments the persecution, even to imprisonment, of men and women, which certain members of his congregation suffered for refusing to pay taxes to dissenting preachers. In spite, however, of these discouragements, the Church gradually increased, and would have done so more rapidly, but for the want of Clergymen. There was no lack of young men willing to enter into the sacred ministry, but they were deterred from their purpose by the hazard and expense of a long voyage, so that the members of every sect were for ever taunting the churchmen with their helpless condition,

¹ Chandler's Life of Johnson, p. 154.

and telling them that, if the Church of England were a true Church, and that Bishops were necessary to its government, one would have been sent long ago.¹

In 1727 he writes as follows to the Secretary :—

“ I am just come from Fairfield, where I have been to visit a considerable number of my people, in prison for their rates to the dissenting minister, to comfort and encourage them under their sufferings ; but verily, unless we can have relief, and be delivered from this unreasonable treatment, I fear I must give up the cause, and our Church must sink and come to nothing. There are thirty-five families in Fairfield who all of them expect what these have suffered ; and though I have endeavoured to gain the compassion and favour of the Government, yet I can avail nothing ; and both I and my people grow weary of our lives under our poverty and affliction.”¹

The course of his duties, though laborious, was of too uniform a character to offer any very striking incidents. In every letter, however, he notices some accessions to the Church from the native heathen, the negroes, or the lapsed Christians. Another satisfactory circumstance, which he reports in 1730, was the growing disposition of the students at the college to inquire into the true principles and claims of the Church, and a consequent dissatisfaction with the system of dissent. Two of these, who had received their education at Yale College, New-Haven—namely, John Pierson, and Isaac Browne, (brother of the very promising candidate who had been carried off by small-pox, in England, soon after his ordination,) were sent home with the highest commendation, and returned to exercise their ministry in the Church to which they had conscientiously conformed.

In answer to a number of queries addressed by the

¹ MS. Letters, vol. xix. p. 226.

Society to the Missionaries, Mr. Johnson gave, in 1727, the following account of his Mission at Stratford :—"The first beginning of the Church of England in this town was about ten or fifteen families, most of them tradesmen, some husbandmen, who were born and bred up in England, and came and settled here, and some of them were born here, and by means of the rest reconciled to the Church. It is nigh twenty years since they first endeavoured to have the worship of God in the method of the Church among them, but were disappointed till about five years ago, ever since which, the numbers have been considerably increasing, so that now there are about fifty families, within the compass of ten miles square, who pretty steadily frequent the Church."¹

Others attended occasionally from the surrounding country, within a circuit of thirty miles; for so ill-provided was the settlement, that to the eastward there was only one church within 100 miles, and none at all to the north. The next year Mr. Johnson records the conversion of two native Indians, and the reconciliation to the Church of seven families who had left its communion.² Subsequently he informed the Society of "two or three likely young gentlemen," who, having been, for some years, dissenting preachers, had, by their course of reading and conversation, been led to entertain doubts of the lawfulness of their ministrations, and would, in all probability, together with their congregations, conform to the Church.³ One of these, Jonathan Arnold, was, on the recommendation of Dr. Johnson, and at the earnest solicitation of the members of the Church in Connecticut, ordained as itinerant Missionary for that colony. As the Society

¹ MS. Letters, vol. xx. p. 253.

² Ibid. vol. xxi. p. 435.

³ Ibid. vol. xxiv. p. 433.

was at this time pledged to the full amount of its income, and Mr. Arnold was possessed of some means of his own, he expressed his readiness to serve without any stipend from the Society, receiving only the very trifling allowance which could be afforded by the people.

It appears by a letter from Mr. Johnson, in 1741, that the country was infested by "a variety of travelling, enthuasiastical, and antinomian teachers, who so affrighted the people with their dismal outcries, that their bodies were frequently affected with surprising convulsions, and involuntary agitations, and cramps, but that the Church had rather gained than suffered by these commotions, for that three or four families had come over to it in consequence."¹ Indeed, so considerable was the increase of the congregation at Stratford, that it was found necessary to build a new church there, while several were in the course of building in different parts of the country, in the hope of being provided with the services of a Missionary by the Society.²

In 1743 Mr. Johnson expresses his thanks to the Society for the "excellent scheme they have concerted for providing for such young men as offer themselves candidates from hence, of whom the number is still increasing, as well as that of places where they might be advantageously situated."

The following interesting paragraph is taken from the same letter:—"I lately opened a new church at Ripton. On the Sunday following, a dissenting teacher, one Mills, being a great admirer of Mr. Whitfield, reviled and declaimed against my sermon, which was upon the subject of relative holiness, and the reverence due to the house of God. He insisted that there is no more holiness in a

¹ Report for 1741.

² Ibid. 1743, p. 44.

church than under an oak-tree, &c., and soon after some of his followers put his doctrine in practice, by defiling the Church with ordure in several places. This zealous man gave out, when Whitfield first appeared, that their employing and encouraging that great reformer would utterly destroy the Church root and branch; but now, finding the event to be the entire reverse of his predictions, he is grown out of all patience with us. In the meantime, while they are daily spitting out their impotent venom against us, I thank God we have a blessed spirit of peace and charity, and of zeal and unanimity, with every other Christian virtue happily prevailing among my people, who are carrying on our new Church with great dispatch, and we have had several new families added, and more seem likely to follow them.”¹

In various subsequent letters he speaks of the demand for more Clergymen, and mentions no fewer than eight candidates who were anxious to proceed to England for ordination. He says, February 12, 1745, “As there is such a growing disposition in the people in many places to forsake the tenets of enthusiasm and confusion, so there is the like disposition increasing in the college, where there are already ten children of the Church, and several sons of dissenting parents that are much inclined to conform. I was there last week, and was much pleased with their exercises. . . . Thus the harvest is large, and the labourers not a few, who would gladly be employed, and be content with as moderate wages as can be thought tolerable, whenever the Society shall be in a disposition to employ them, or any of them.”²

This zeal in behalf of the Church of their fathers, and the desire to be employed in its ministry, which was felt

¹ Original Letters, vol. iv. l. 36.

² Ibid. vol. v. l. 82.

and expressed by so many, is the more remarkable, as the sectarian government of New England continued to repress every such feeling by the most wanton and harassing persecution. "Though the madness" (says Mr. Johnson, March 30, 1745,) "of the late enthusiasm has somewhat abated, the venom of it still continues, and, I fear, rather increases, and operates in a virulent manner, in many places, against the Church, so that no sooner does any person in authority appear for the Church, but he is soon displaced, and some bitter creature set up by the Government in his room; and in some places, notwithstanding the law they had made in our favour, they have, of late, taxed the lands of the Church people, in common with the dissenters, towards the support of their ministers. I have myself lately had no less than ten pounds of our money forced from me toward maintaining three of the worst creatures in the Government, being taxes raised upon some lands I had in the places where they were teachers. But what I would mention as the greatest grievance of this kind, is the case of the Church people at Derby, who are forced to pay such a land-tax in their own town to a dissenting teacher and meeting-house in one of their villages, (where they have a church of their own to finish, and a Minister to provide for,) the amount of which in the whole will be very considerable."¹

And not only did those who were favourably inclined to the Church expose themselves to the ill-will of their provincial government, but they were also subject to discouragements of another kind. There was no episcopal school or college for the education of their children, and, in many districts, no service according to the usage of the Church of England, insomuch that Mr. Johnson, resolute and uncom-

¹ Original Letters, vol. v. l. 83.

promising churchman as he was, found himself under the necessity of entering into the following explanation, in answer to some ill-natured rumour:—"As to my son, it is indeed a great mortification to me and him, that I am obliged to send him to a dissenting college, or deny him any public education at all; and rather than deny him a collegiate education, I confess I do not deny him going to meeting when he can't help it, to which he is himself so averse that nothing but necessity would put him upon it. He comes home to church once in three weeks, or a month, at least to the communion if possible, being fourteen miles; and as often as there is church there, he goes to Westhaven, which is four miles."¹ Another, and the principal difficulty of all, which has been frequently before alluded to, was the necessity under which every candidate for the ministry was laid of going to England for ordination. The office of Missionary, arduous, responsible, and ill-requited as it was, could not be obtained, without a dangerous,—in several instances it proved a fatal,—voyage of 6,000 miles. Yet were there not found wanting persons ready and willing to give themselves to the work.

In 1743, Mr. Johnson says, "Here is an ingenious gentleman, one Mr. Prince, of very considerable learning, having been for fifteen years a fellow of Harvard College, in Cambridge, who has conformed, and desires to serve the Church in holy orders, and would willingly go home in the spring; and here is an honest neighbouring dissenting teacher, who will very soon appear for the Church, and probably bring the greatest part of his congregation with him."²

In 1746, he writes: "A love to the Church is still gaining in the college; and four more, whose names are Allen,

¹ Original Letters, vol. iv. l. 38.

² Ibid. vol. iv. l. 49.

Lloyd, Sturgeon, and Chandler,¹ have declared themselves candidates for holy orders, and there seems a very growing disposition towards the Church in Newhaven, as well as the college, so that I hope there will be, ere long, a flourishing Church there." I have heretofore desired leave for Messrs. Dibblee and Leaming to go for orders, and am now desired to ask the same for Messrs. Mansfield and Allen, as soon as the Society can be in a disposition to receive them."

In 1747, he sends to the Bishop of London information of "a number of vacancies, four of which are in this colony, so that (he says) I am now alone here on the sea-coast, without one person in orders besides myself for more than a hundred miles, in which compass there is business enough for six, or seven Ministers, and those northward have their hands full; so that my burden is at present insupportable; nor have we yet leave for any to go home, though there are five or six valuable candidates. Unless, therefore, the Society can provide, or your lordship can think proper to ordain, on such titles as can be made here, (which in some places, though not without much hardship, may, I believe, be made equal to 30*l.* sterling per annum,) the Church must soon decay apace. Meantime, it is really affecting to hear the cries and importunities of people from several quarters, and not have it in one's power to help them."²

While the wants of the Church were so urgent on the one hand, and on the other so many promising young men, whether originally born in her communion, or converts from dissent, were ready and anxious to enroll themselves in her service, it is impossible to repress a feeling of regret that

¹ The biographer of Dr. Johnson.

² Original Letters, vol. viii. l. 51.

the means did not exist for rendering their talents immediately available. Had a theological college been founded, and a Bishop sent forth to ordain elders in every city, and to care for the interests of the Church, many, doubtless, would have ranged themselves on her side who were led by the circumstances of their position to take part against her. Possibly an orthodox Church might now be flourishing in a country where the unsystematic theology, and the anti-episcopal discipline of the Puritans have found their natural development in the general prevalency of Socinianism. As it was, and in spite of manifold discouragement, the Church grew apace. Shortly after Mr. Johnson's settlement at Stratford, Mr. Caner, who had, on his recommendation, gone to England for ordination, was appointed to the neighbouring Mission of Fairfield, while Mr. Beach and Mr. Seabury, forsaking the communion of dissenters, were ordained to the cures of Newtown and New London. In 1736, it was found that there were, in the whole colony, not fewer than 700 families in communion with the Church of England.¹

This increase is attributed by Dr. Chandler, not exclusively to the labours of the Clergy, but in no small part to the extravagant lengths to which Whitfield and his followers proceeded: and there can be no difficulty in believing that the unmeasured denunciations of the enemies of the Church might have led some to a calm consideration of her doctrines, while the religious anarchy produced throughout the country by the preaching of uneducated fanatics, would dispose the more sober-minded Christians to seek for shelter and repose in the bosom of the Church. The prevalency of many erroneous views as to the authority and ordinances of the Church, induced Mr. Johnson

¹ Chandler's *Life of Johnson*, p. 64.

to publish several treatises in her defence; and he appears to have been no less successful as a controversialist than he was useful and efficient as a Missionary. Indeed his publications in vindication of the Church attracted the attention of the university of Oxford; and, in 1743, the degree of D.D. was conferred upon him by diploma. This, it will be remembered, was the second time that he had been honourably noticed by that university. His M.A. degree was given in hope; "*Sperantes nempe, illius ministerio, aliam et eandem, olim, nascituram Ecclesiam Anglicanam.*" The present diploma referred to this expectation as in part realized. The Church had, however, still need of such champions.

In 1748 he says, "Scarce ever was there a people in a more bewildered and confounded condition, occasioned by the sad effects of Methodism, still in many places strangely rampant, and crumbling them into endless separations; which occasions the most sensible of them to be everywhere looking to the Church as their only refuge." A year later he speaks in the same tone, and describes the "disposition among the sectaries to the Church as still increasing," especially at Brantford, where, within two or three years, twenty-five families had conformed.¹

It seems that the Missionaries of this period were by no means exempt from the cavils or misrepresentations of slanderous tongues; and it may be worth while to mention the charge against them of making alterations in the Liturgy, in order to record Dr. Johnson's indignant denial. "This (he says) is very hard indeed, when we have given so much proof of our inviolable attachment to it, and that the established Episcopacy and Liturgy is dearer to us than anything in the world besides; so dear as to leave fathers,

¹ Original Letters, vol. x. l. 52.

mothers, brethren, sisters, houses, and lands, and venture our lives to the greatest hazard for it—twenty-five having gone a thousand leagues for episcopal orders, of whom no less than five have lost their lives, and several others suffered the most dangerous sicknesses, and all at the expense of more than we could well afford; and all this when we might have had the greatest applause of all our friends and acquaintance (if we could have made our consciences easy as we were), and the best preferments they could give.”¹

While congregations of European settlers were forming in the villages round Stratford, at Norwalk, Hebron, Middleton, Wallingford, Guilford, and Brantford, neither the native Americans nor the poor Africans were neglected. “I have always (says Johnson) had a catechetical lecture during the summer months, attended by many negroes, and some Indians, about seventy or eighty in all, and, as far as I can find, where the dissenters have baptized one we have baptized two, if not three or four, negroes or Indians, and I have four or five communicants.”¹

Notwithstanding the laborious duties of his Mission, Dr. Johnson found time to continue his favourite study of Hebrew, and to pursue his investigations in moral and metaphysical philosophy. Two treatises which he published about this time—one on logic, the other on metaphysics, were printed together by the celebrated Dr. Franklin, for the use of a college at Philadelphia which he was then projecting. This college was soon afterwards founded; and it is sufficient proof of the high estimation in which the Missionary of Stratford was held by Franklin, that he consulted him about the plan of education, and urged him to accept the presidency of the college. This offer Johnson declined. Two years afterwards, however,

¹ Original Letters, vol. xi. l. 60.

² Ibid. vol. xii. l. 49.

in 1754, when he was unanimously elected President of King's College, New York, though loth to quit his beloved Stratford, where he had now laboured faithfully for the space of thirty years, he accepted the appointment. Had he done otherwise, the project of founding such an institution¹ would, for a time at least, have been relinquished. Dr. Johnson, therefore, had no choice; yet he left his Mission with much pain, and to the regret of all his people. Here, therefore, our notice of him, as connected with the Society, might be expected to terminate; but it so happened, that after nine years of active service as head of the college, during which time he spared no exertion to place it on a secure and permanent footing, Dr. Johnson resigned his charge and returned to Stratford. In a letter dated from that place, May 10, 1763, he says: "I am returned to reside here the little time that remains to me, being near 67."

He had become weary of the "care and labour of the College," and anxious for a more retired life; and this feeling was increased by the death of his wife, who fell a victim to the small-pox. Still he desired to be of what service he could to the Church, by occasionally preaching for Mr. Winslow, and by assisting young candidates who were preparing themselves for Holy Orders. He mentions three who were about to proceed to England for ordination: Mr. Hubbard, of Guilford; Mr. Jarvis,² of Middletown; and Mr. Cutting, who had been educated at Eton and Cambridge; a person of piety and virtue, and of much learning and eloquence, who had been several years one of the assistant tutors at King's College."

¹ It should be mentioned that the Society contributed 500*l.* towards the expense of the building.

² The successor of Dr. Seabury in the Bishopric of Connecticut.

The year following, the Mission becoming vacant, he expressed to the Society his willingness to resume his duties there, and the offer was of course thankfully accepted. Notwithstanding his now advanced age, he still retained the vigour and activity of youth. He continued, from time to time, to recommend such candidates for holy orders as he considered qualified to fill the vacant Missions; but justly complained of the hardship under which they laboured, in consequence of there being no Bishop in America, of being compelled to go to England for ordination, at an expense of not less than 100*l*.¹

He also took an active part in the controversy, which grew warm about this time, on the subject of introducing Episcopacy into America: but he did not live to witness the success of this long struggle. He was summoned to his rest on the morning of the Epiphany, 1772, to the great "loss of the Society, and of the American Church."²

Intelligence of his death was conveyed to the Society in a letter dated January 24, 1772, and signed by four of his brethren, the Rev. Messrs. Lamson, Dibblee, Leaming, and Hubbard. They write as follows:—

"The learned, pious, and most benevolent Doctor Johnson, of Stratford, full of years, faith, and charity, fell asleep in the Lord the sixth instant, with great respect to his memory was interred on the 9th, and a funeral sermon preached to good acceptance by the worthy Mr. Leaming."

¹ Report for 1768, p. 50.

² Ibid. 1773, p. 21.

CHAPTER IX.

CONNECTICUT.

Average number of New England Missionaries—Rev. John Beach—Mission of Newtown and Reading—Steady increase of his Congregations—Controversy with the Independent Ministers—Mr. Sandeman propagates Antinomian views—Want of Clergy—And of a Bishop to ordain—Extension of the Church by Emigration to other Settlements—Mr. Beach's long service—His Death and Character.

THERE is not a little difficulty in conveying to the reader a correct general view of the Missions of the Church in New England during the middle period of the last century. The history is one of details; and there is danger, on the one hand, of becoming tedious by too copious a citation of minute facts, or of being considered vague and general if they are passed by with only an occasional reference. Nothing of a very striking or romantic character is to be expected. The interest of the narrative is that which belongs to its subject-matter; and these brief notices, while they serve to show the good that was effected by the Society with its very limited means, may tend also to expose the short-sighted policy of the nation, in allowing its colonies to grow up without any adequate provision for the education and religious nurture of the people. At the period to which we are referring, and down to the commencement of the American war, there were, on the average, thirty Clergymen maintained by the

Society in the New England States. Each was placed in the centre of an extensive district, with instructions to supply, as far as possible, the spiritual wants of the people within his reach. Not only, therefore, was he called on to minister to the people of his own town and its neighbourhood, but to preach the word, and administer the sacraments, to many distant settlements. Such duties, arduous under any circumstances, must have been more than ordinarily severe in a newly-occupied country, subject to the extremities of heat and cold; yet they appear, upon the whole, to have been discharged with patient and cheerful devotion. And it is therefore with a feeling of the obligation which the Church of England owes to the labourers who were first sent into this portion of the Lord's vineyard, that we proceed to record the names and services of a few of the more distinguished among them.

The Rev. John Beach was educated at the dissenting college of Newhaven, under the Rev. Dr. Johnson, by whose testimony¹ it appears that he made uncommon proficiency in learning. He was afterwards placed as a dissenting teacher at Newtown, mainly with a view of anticipating, and so thwarting, a scheme then on foot for establishing a Church Mission there. After a time, however, being "an ingenious and studious person," and "having had the advantage of better books," he was convinced of the obligation to conform to the Church, and was sent to England with strong recommendations as candidate for holy orders.² Among other testimonials which he presented was one from Mr. Honyman to the Bishop of London in the following terms:—"Mr. Beach

¹ Johnson's Letter to the Bishop of London, March 25, 1732.

² MS. Letters, vol. xxiv. p. 121.

is universally esteemed by all that know him in this country, for the sake of his good morals and his learning ; of this, indeed, your Lordship will be the best judge. He has been for some years a teacher amongst the dissenters, now joins our communion upon principle, and offers his service to the Church ; and it is earnestly desired that he may return again to the place where he has lived long and is extremely beloved. It is evident to me that no money in England is laid out to more advantage than what is expended in propagating religion in this country, in the way of our Church, and that even upon a civil as well as a religious account.”¹ Mr. Beach was accordingly ordained, and appointed to the Mission of Newtown, where he arrived in September, 1732.

In his first report, six months afterwards, he says, “ I have now forty-four communicants, and their number increases every time I administer the communion.”² What follows will show practically how the jealousies of professing Christians impede the extension of the Church among the heathen.

“ When first arrived here, I intended to visit the Indians who live three miles from Newtown, and I had hopes that some good might be wrought upon them ; but many of the English here that are bitter enemies to the Church, antidoted them against the Church, or any instructions they might have received from me, by insinuating them with a jealousy, if they received me as their Minister, I would in time get their land from them, and they must be obliged to pay me a salary. This put them in a great rage ; for these Indians are a very jealous people, and particularly suspicious of being cheated out of their land by the English (the English having got most of it from them already). These English dissenters likewise railed at all the Churchmen in general, telling

¹ Fulham Papers, Letter April 26, 1732.

² MS. Letters, vol. xxiv, p. 157.

them they were rogues, &c., and advised them, if I came among them to instruct them, to whip me. In a word, they raised such a ferment among these rude barbarians, that their sachem, or chief, said, that if I came among them, he would shoot a bullet through my heart ; these things several of the Indians have told me since. However, I, not knowing the danger, went to visit them ; but they looked very surlily upon me, and showed a great uneasiness when I mentioned the name of God, so that I plainly saw that they were resolved not to hear me, and I feared that if I had persisted in my discourse of religion, they would have done me a mischief.”¹

Of his own countrymen he says:—

“The people here have a high esteem of the Church, and are now greatly rejoiced that they have an opportunity of worshipping God in that way, and have begun to build two small churches, the one at Newtown, and the other at Reading.”²

From time to time he reported favourably of his Mission ; in 1736 his communicants were 105, and, at the period of Whitfield’s visit, he writes : “Both my congregations are in a flourishing condition, having lost nothing by the spirit of enthusiasm which of late prevails exceedingly among the Independents in these parts, but ten families from among them have professed themselves of the Church of England, and have joined with us.”

A letter written in the year 1743 refers to the same subject, and shows, moreover, the disadvantage under which the Church was labouring for want of a chief pastor. The subjoined extract deserves to be read with attention :—

“My people are not at all shaken, but rather confirmed in their principles, by the spirit of enthusiasm that rages among the

¹ Original Letters, vol. i. l. 32.

² Ibid.

Independents round about us. And many of the dissenters, observing how stedfast our people are in their faith and practice, while those of their own denomination are easily carried away with every wind of doctrine, and are now sunk into the utmost confusion and disorder, have conceived a much better opinion of our Church than they formerly had ; and a considerable number in this colony have lately conformed, and several churches are now building where they have no minister. Indeed, there is scarcely a town in which there is not a considerable number professing themselves of the Church of England, and very desirous to have it settled among them ; but God only knows when and how they can be provided for. Were there in this country but one of the episcopal order to whom young men might apply for ordination, without the expense and danger of a voyage to England, many of our towns might be supplied which now must remain destitute. To express this wish to the venerable Society (I am sensible) may be esteemed impertinent ; but I am moved to it by hearing so frequently numbers of serious people of our Church lamenting their unhappiness, that they can rarely enjoy that worship which they ‘hunger and thirst after,’ there being so small a number of Clergymen in this country, when Presbyterians, Independents, and all sects are here perfect in their kind. But, although we have not the utmost that we could wish for, yet I bless God for the pious care and charity of the venerable Society, to which it is owing that so many hundreds of souls are provided for in this government ; and had it not been for that, we have reason to think there would not have been at this day so much as one congregation in this colony worshipping God according to the Church of England.”¹

In October of the same year he informs the Society that his people were building a Church in the hope of having a Minister settled amongst them. “ But the Independents, to suppress this design in its infancy, having the authority in their hands, have lately prosecuted and fined them for their meeting to worship God according to the Common

¹ Original Letters, vol. iv. l. 45.

Prayer; and the same punishment they are like to suffer for every offence in this kind, although it is the common approved practice of the same Independents to meet for worship in their own way when they have no Minister. . . The case of these people is very hard. If on the Lord's-day they continue at home, they must be punished; if they meet to worship God according to the Church of England, in the best manner they can, the mulct is still greater; and if they go to the Independent meeting in the town where they live, they must endure the mortification of hearing the doctrines and worship of the Church vilified, and the important truths of Christianity obscured and enervated by enthusiastic and antinomian dreams."¹

He makes the following satisfactory report of the Mission of Reading in 1749:—

“ I have about 400 constant hearers, all of whom, excepting a very few, adorn their profession by a sober, righteous, and godly life. Almost two-thirds of the inhabitants of this parish are Independents, who have two ministers of their own persuasion. I baptize about sixty or seventy children commonly in one year, and some few adults, and am now preparing two whole families for baptism who were bred Independents. My parishioners are poor, and have but few negro slaves; but all they have, I have, after proper instruction, baptized, and some of them are communicants. . . As our Church here, like the house of David, waxes ‘stronger and stronger,’ so I hope, after some years, it will not need so much assistance from the good and venerable Society as at present; and yet the seed they now sow will continue to grow and flourish to many generations.”²

The next letter furnishes painful evidence of the danger of leaving men without spiritual guidance, and the ordinary means of grace.

¹ Original Letters, vol. iv. l. 46.

² Ibid. vol. x. l. 54.

“ 9th April, 1750.

“ As I take care of three small congregations professing the Church of England at New Milford and New Fairfield, between eighteen and twenty-five miles distant from my dwelling, so I last week visited them, and found that many of their neighbours, from Independents, are become a sort of extravagant enthusiasts, which as yet want a name. For their minister they have an ignorant mechanic, not able to give a tolerable account of the first principles of natural and revealed religion, as I have found by conversing with him. His praying and preaching (as they call it) is performed by screaming and hallooing to such a degree, as that he may be heard at above a mile's distance. He administers the Lord's Supper (as he says) to persons who profess to be unbaptized, and to small children ; and at the time when he presumes to administer that holy sacrament (as credible spectators inform me) there is such a hideous and horrible screaming and howling among his communicants, that one would be tempted to suspect that the devil was come visibly among them. I have taken some pains with this presumptuous man and his hearers, but to little purpose ; for they have renounced reason as carnal, and pretend to inspiration.

“ I have baptized this half-year fifty-eight, of whom five are adult. Some few of them were Indian children. My congregations are in a peaceable and growing condition, and, I think, do increase in knowledge and virtue.”¹

The Mission of Reading, in which Mr. Beach was now labouring, was twenty miles in length, and twelve in breadth ; while, in default of any nearer Missionary, he was not unfrequently invited to visit families at sixty miles' distance. These calls, however, he was prevented from answering as he would fain have done, by bodily indisposition. “ I have been afflicted,” he says, “ with a colic for thirty years past, so as not to be free from pain one day, which of late increases upon me, hastens old age, and makes travelling burdensome.” Surely Missionaries

¹ Original Letters, vol. xi. l. 26.

so situated, left alone amidst a widely-scattered flock, and sensible that their strength is daily diminishing, while their burdens become daily heavier, are, of all men, most entitled to our effectual sympathy. After lamenting his own insufficiency, Mr. Beach recurs with satisfaction to the prospect of some help being sent. "Nothing," he says, "caused so much rejoicing among our Church people as a report, which has lately obtained here, of a Bishop being appointed to visit this country."¹

But he was doomed to disappointment, and compelled for many ensuing years to labour single-handed, and with no one to whom he could look up for guidance and support. Yet he laboured on in faith, and as he planted and watered, God vouchsafed to give an abundant increase. In 1751, he writes, "My congregations, both at Newtown and Reading, do continually grow in the number of hearers and communicants, there being, in good weather, between 200 and 300 hearers, and 90 and 100 communicants in each Church." The few negroes that were in the service of Church families, had been all baptized. Mr. Beach concludes his letter in these touching words:—"If I know my own heart, I desire, above all things, to promote the eternal good of souls; but all I can now do, is to minister to these two congregations, of which I hope the generality are very good and understanding Christians. And as they can give a very good reason why they adhere to the Church of England, so they adorn their profession by a good life. I continue to perform Divine service, and preach twice every Sunday, and some other holy days; although I labour under much bodily weakness and pain, and am in continual expectation of my departure

¹ Original Letters, vol. xii. l. 37.

out of this miserable life, which event will, I hope, be very welcome when it shall please God to order it.”¹

The next year, on the death of the Rev. James Honyman, who has already been noticed, Mr. Beach had the offer of Newport, Rhode Island, which, though more valuable than his own Mission, and in what was called the “garden of New England,” he felt bound to decline, in order, he says, that the people might not complain “that a worn-out man was imposed upon them.”

In 1760, he was called upon to preach before the Clergy at their convention at Newhaven, and his sermon, which was a vindication of the fundamental articles of the faith, was afterwards published, with a preface by Dr. Johnson, recommending it as well calculated to correct the latitudinarian spirit of the times. The Missionaries also testified their approval of it in writing, and recommended it to the attentive perusal of their flocks.

His congregation had been continually increasing, till he was enabled, in 1762, to report that it considerably exceeded the whole number of dissenters; and that whereas, on his first arrival, there were not more than twenty communicants, there were now three hundred out of a population of a thousand Church-people.

“Were it not,” he says, “for the venerable Society’s charity, I know not what would become of many thousands in these parts, who have so great a love and esteem of our Church, and so great an aversion to the Independent methods, that if they were deprived of that which they admire, they never would join with the other. Nay, the venerable Society’s charity to us has proved no small advantage to the Independents, for they who live near to

¹ Original Letters, vol. xii. l. 33.

the Church of England acquire juster notions of religion, and become more regular in their worship.”¹

It is plain from the whole tenor of his letters, that Mr. Beach was of a temper eminently practical, and far more disposed to labour diligently in the direct duties of his ministry, than to engage in controversy with those who opposed themselves; yet, in the midst of his laborious career, he was compelled, by the dangerous doctrines which were publicly maintained at this time, to stand forward in defence of the truth. He says, April 12, 1765, “I am now engaged in a controversy with some of the independent ministers, about those absurd doctrines, the sum of which is contained in a thesis published by Newhaven College, last September, in these words, viz. “*Obedientia personalis non est necessaria ad Justificationem.*” They expressly deny that there is any law of grace, which promises eternal life upon condition of faith, repentance, and sincere obedience, and assert justification only by the law of innocence and sinless obedience. Though my health is small, and my abilities less, and though I make it my rule never to enter into any dispute with them, unless they begin, yet now they have made the assault, and advance such monstrous errors as do subvert the Gospel, I think myself obliged, by my ordination vow, to guard my people (as well as I can) against such strange doctrines, in which work hitherto I hope I have had some success, for the Church people here are very well fortified against both *antinomianism* and *enthusiasm*, both which rage amongst the independents; neither are there any of my parishioners infested in any degree with *deism*.²

About this time allusions begin to occur in the Society’s correspondence to those political troubles which, after a

¹ Original Letters, vol. xvii. l. 30.

² Ibid. l. 35.

long struggle, issued in the temporary overthrow of the Church in America, and the final separation of the colonies from the mother-country ; but Mr. Beach, writing Oct. 2, 1765, says that he “ cannot discover in any of the Church people the least inclination to sedition and rebellion against their mother-country, on account of the stamp duty.”¹

Though preserved, however, for the time from the turbulence of political faction, neither he nor any of his brethren were ever long free from the intrusion of religious fanatics. The letter which follows contains an account of the first appearance in New England of the head of a new sect, which, although never very popular, still exists.

“ October 6, 1766.

“ The death of my nearest neighbour, Mr. Davies, is a very great loss to the Church in Lichfield county, where, the short time it pleased God to continue him, he gave uncommon satisfaction, being very pious and prudent, zealous and laborious in the ministry ; he was greatly beloved, and is now much lamented. Here is one Mr. Sandeman, come from Scotland, who (as I fear) designs to propagate infidelity, liberalism, or no religion, under the mask of free-grace ; for, as I have heard him preaching in the Independents’ meeting-house in this town, I find that the sum and purport of his new doctrine is, ‘ that Christ has done all and everything for our salvation which God requires of us, and the mere belief or assent to this report is saving faith ; and to have the least solicitude about anything which we have to do, to obtain salvation, is the damning sin of unbelief, in which all the Christian world, excepting his sect, are involved.’ Where these monstrous tenets are once received, there will remain no temptation to wicked men to turn infidels, in order to get free from the uneasy restraints which the strict laws of Christianity lay upon men’s lusts ; but they may maintain the character of staunch believers, keep conscience quiet, and flatter themselves with the hope of eternal happiness, while they indulge their appetites and

¹ Journal, vol. xvii. p. 508.

passions as fully as any libertine or infidel can wish for. Many of the Independents in these parts, both ministers and people, appear to be strongly captivated with this new-fashioned Antinomianism. But none of my people show the least inclination towards it, but the greatest detestation of it. And, instead of diminishing, it increases the number of my hearers, who, as they continue in love, peace, and unity among themselves, so they stedfastly adhere to the doctrine and worship of the Church of England, while our Independent neighbours are in no small confusion, and crumbling into more parties.”¹

Thus numbers were continually added to the Church; yet the body could hardly be said to increase, for it wanted organization and the due development of its parts. This is the constant subject of Mr. Beach’s lamentations. Thus, April 13, 1767, he says, “The more the Church spreads in this country, the more we feel and groan under the want of a Bishop; and I am full in the opinion that, if those great men upon whose pleasure it depends to grant us such a blessing, did but know, as we sensibly do, that the Church people here are the only fast friends to our subjection to, or even connexion with, England, as hath lately appeared, they would, even upon political reasons, grant us the favour we have so long wished and prayed for, and would strengthen the cause, which, compared with the dissenters of all denominations, is very weak. It is some satisfaction to me to observe, that in this town, of late, in our elections, the Church people make the major vote, which is the first instance of the kind in this colony, if not in all New England. I can assure the venerable Society, it is the great pleasure of my life to promote true religion, and to serve the eternal interest of souls, agreeable to their pious intentions.”²

Again, in October of the same year, he alludes to the

¹ Original Letters, vol. xvii. l. 38.

² Ibid. l. 39.

crying grievance of the Church in the colonies—a grievance which it is to the dishonour of this country not to have redressed. After speaking of some services which he had performed at a distance from his own Mission, he goes on—“Alas! it is but little that so few of us can perform to what is greatly wanted. It is really melancholy to observe how many serious and very religious people of late, in these parts, profess themselves of the Church of England, and earnestly desire to worship God in that way, yet are as sheep without a shepherd. The harvest truly is plenteous, but the labourers are few; which might be greatly helped if holy Orders could be obtained in this country. But I encourage myself with the hope that the Lord, whose harvest it is, will soon bestow on this land that so much and so long wished-for blessing.”

In truth, the British government seems to have been visited with something like judicial blindness in regard to its own nearest interests; otherwise it could not so long have resisted a measure which, while it was essential to the well-being of the Church in America, would, at the same time, have contributed most powerfully to the maintenance of the connexion between England and her colonies. The State as well as the Church had an obvious interest in the establishment of Bishoprics.

“If I may presume to speak,” says Mr. Beach, April 14th, 1768, “what falls under my observation, the Church people in these parts are the best affected towards the Government of Great Britain, and the more zealous Churchmen they are, by so much the stronger affection they discover for King and Parliament upon all occasions. But dissenters here greatly exceed in number. It is very probable that, if there were a Bishop among us to ordain and confirm, it would greatly increase the number of the Clergy

and the Church people. And the fear and dread of the growth of the Church, if I mistake not, is the real source of the opposition which in these parts is made to it. If any of us of the Clergy in America discover an aversion to it, it must be an additional argument for its necessity.”¹

The history of Mr. Beach’s patient and consistent course cannot better be concluded than in his own simple and touching words. Writing from New Town, May 5, 1772, he says—

“As it is now forty years since I have had the advantage of being the venerable Society’s Missionary in this place, I suppose it will not be improper to give a brief account how I have spent my time, and improved their charity. Every Sunday I have performed divine service, and preached twice, at Newtown and Reading alternately. And in these forty years I have lost only two Sundays through sickness; although, in all that time, I have been afflicted with a constant colic, which has not allowed me one day’s ease or freedom from pain. The distance between the churches at Newtown and Reading is between eight and nine miles, and no very good road, yet have I never failed one time to attend each place according to custom, through the badness of the weather, but have rode it in the severest rains and snow-storms, even when there has been no track, and my horse near mining down in the snow banks,—which has had this good effect on my parishioners, that they are ashamed to stay from church on account of bad weather, so that they are remarkably forward to attend the public worship. As to my labours without my parish, I have formerly performed divine service in many towns where the Common-prayer had never been heard, nor the Scriptures read in public, and where now are flourishing congregations of the Church of England, and in some places where there never had been any public worship at all, nor any sermon preached by any preacher of any denomination.

“In my travelling to preach the gospel, once was my life remarkably preserved in passing a deep and rapid river. The

¹ Original Letters, vol. xvii. l. 47.

retrospect on my fatigues, as lying on straw, &c., gives me pleasure, while I flatter myself that my labour has not been quite in vain ; for the Church-of-England people are increased much more than twenty to one ; and what is infinitely more pleasing, many of them are remarkable for piety and virtue ; and the Independents here are more knowing in matters of religion than they who live at a great distance from our Church. We live in harmony and peace with each other, and the rising generation of the Independents seem to be entirely free from every pique and prejudice against the Church."

A short extract from a letter of the following year will show how, by the emigration of families, the good principles which this active and excellent clergyman had first planted at Newtown became gradually diffused over the surrounding districts.

"Ever since the last peace, our people are continually removing to settle in the back country, whither they carry with them a zeal for that religion which they learned while here ; and where they make a new settlement, they set up the worship of the Church of England.

"They who set up the worship of God according to our Liturgy at Lanesborough, at Nobletown and Arlington, proceeded chiefly from my parishes. But, notwithstanding those frequent emigrations, my congregations increase."

A similar report of the increase and spread of his people, and through them of the Church, is made by the Rev. Roger Viets, of Simsbury, in 1773.

Again, several years after this, Mr. Beach, towards the close of his long career, and in the midst of much trouble and affliction, sends the following, which is his last letter to the Society :—

"Newtown, October 31, 1781.

"It is a long time since I have done my duty in writing to the venerable Society, not owing to my carelessness, but to the impossibility of conveyance from here ; and now do it sparingly. A narrative of my troubles I dare not now give. My two congregations

are growing; that of Reading being commonly about 300, and at Newtown about 600. I baptize about 130 children in one year, and lately two adults. Newtown, and the Church of England part of Reading, are (I believe) the only parts of New England that have refused to comply with the doings of the Congress, and for that reason have been the butt of general hatred; but God has delivered us from entire destruction.

"I am now in the eighty-second year of my age, yet do constantly alternately perform service and preach at Newtown and Reading. I have been sixty years a public preacher, and, after conviction, in the Church of England fifty years; but had I been sensible of my insufficiency, I should not have undertaken it. But now I rejoice in that I think I have done more good towards men's eternal happiness than I should have done in any other calling. I do most heartily thank the venerable Society for their liberal support, and beg that they will accept of this, which is, I believe, my last bill, which, according to former custom, is due.

"At this age I cannot well hope for it, but I pray God I may have an opportunity to explain myself with safety; but must conclude now with Job's expression—'Have pity upon me, have pity upon me, O ye my friends.'"¹

Six months after this Mr. Beach died, fairly worn out. He was a man of primitive faith, a true soldier of the cross; one who, through a long life, and in troublous times, never forgot his obligation to the Divine law, which directs to "Fear God and honour the King." His death is thus spoken of by the Rev. Bela Hubbard, himself an active and exemplary Clergyman:—

"July 19, 1782.

"We have to lament the loss of the great and good Mr. John Beach, who, for half a century, hath been a most worthy and dutiful Missionary from the Society at Newtown and Reading, where he deceased on the 19th March, 1782, in the 82d year of his age."

¹ Original Letters, vol. xvii. l. 50.

CHAPTER X.

NEW ENGLAND.

CONNECTICUT—RHODE ISLAND—MASSACHUSETTS.

Rev. Roger Price—Enumeration of Churches in New England—Number of Bishops and Clergy in 1844—Mission of Hebron—Loss of Missionaries—Rev. Peter Bours—Rev. Edward Bass—Mission of Salem—Rev. C. Brockwell—Whitfield and his Followers—Rev. J. Macsparran—Rev. S. Palmer—Rev. Mr. Macclenaghan—Rev. John Graves—Rev. W. Macgilchrist—Rev. E. Thompson—Allotment of Glebes—Endowments—Rev. Jacob Bailey—Rev. E. Punderson—Opposition of Dissenters—Rev. E. Winslow—Convocation at Boston.—Rev. Richard Mansfield—Vast extent of his Mission—Rev. Alexander Murray—Neglect of the Sacraments—Rev. John Tyler—Rev. Samuel Peters—Missionary Tour—Rev. E. Dibblee—Rev. Bela Hubbard—Political Troubles—Rev. M. Browne—Dispersion of the Clergy—Rev. Dr. Caner—Rev. J. W. Weeks—Rev. Mather Byles—Death and Character of Mr. Thompson—Letter of Colonel Peters—State of New England Churches—Rev. R. Cossit.

THE subject matter of the present work hardly admits of being treated in a very regular or systematic way, and this will account for the fragmentary and discontinuous character of our history. With this apology, we proceed to record a few brief notices of the other New England Missions. And here it may be convenient to insert the following enumeration of churches in New England, which was sent home in 1748 by the Rev. Roger Price, who held the office of Commissary to the Bishop of London for a period of twenty years; till increasing age, and an indisposition to public business, made him glad to accept the Society's Mission of Hopkinton:—

MASSACHUSETTS :—

Boston	3
Newbury	2
Salem	1
Marblehead	1
Braintree	1
Bristol	1
Scituate	1
Hopkinton	1
Taunton	1

RHODE ISLAND :—

Newport	1
Kingston Narraganset . . .	1
Warwick	1
Providence	1
Westerly	1

NEW HAMPSHIRE :—

Portsmouth	1
Hettery	1

CONNECTICUT :—

Stanford	1
Norwalk	1
Stratfield	1
Ripton	1
Derby	1
Westhaven	1
Waterbury	1
Northbury	1
New Milford	1
Fairfield	1
Hebron	1
New London	1
Stratford	1
Reading and Newtown . . .	1
Groton	1
Ridgefield	1
Simsbury	1

Total . . 36*

Nearly one hundred years have elapsed since this return was made; and although we are unable to state what has been the increase in the number of Churches within the New-England States, there were, at the close of the year 1844, five Bishops, and two hundred and twenty Clergymen. It is a cause of much thankfulness to every member of our communion, and in an especial manner to the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, the nursing mother of the Church in New England, to mark the increase of its ministers and members; and it is the sincere prayer of their brethren in the old country, that the Lord their God may “add unto” them, “how many soever they be, an hundred-fold.”

The members of the Church at Hebron built a church, and gave a glebe in trust to the Society for the benefit of a Clergyman, earnestly requesting that one might as soon

* Original Letters, vol. ix. l. 39.

as possible be sent; but as the Society, owing to want of means, was unable to comply with this request, they promised to allow a stipend of 30*l.* to Mr. Colton, if he would undertake the voyage to England and should be admitted to holy orders.

Mr. Colton had been educated for the ministry, and had for some years read the prayers of the Church and sermons to the people. He readily accepted the offer; went to England in 1752, and was ordained, together with Mr. Camp, who had been rendering similar service to the members of the Church in Middleton and Warwick, and with a like happy result; for his congregations also showed their anxiety for the blessing of a duly authorized Clergyman, by securing a glebe for his maintenance, and building a church.¹ Mr. Colton, however, was not permitted to exercise his ministry in New England. On his voyage back he was seized with the small-pox, and died within seven days after landing in his own country. Hebron was singularly unfortunate in its attempts to procure duly ordained Missionaries; for, seven years prior to this, Mr. Deane, another graduate of Yale College, who was sent to England as a candidate for holy Orders, having been admitted Deacon, was, in returning, lost at sea, together, as is supposed, with all the passengers and crew, for the vessel in which they embarked was never afterwards heard of.² A third candidate, Mr. Usher, son of the Rev. James Usher, the Missionary at Bristol, was taken prisoner by the French in his passage home in the year 1757, and confined in the Castle of Bayonne, where he died of the small-pox.

It is gratifying to find that, in spite of various discouraging circumstances, so many of the New England

¹ Report for 1752, p. 38.

² Ibid. 1746, p. 42.

congregations exhibited a hearty and spontaneous affection for their Church, by complying with the Society's rule in building a church and setting apart a glebe. This was done at Marblehead, where, on the petition of the inhabitants, Mr. Peter Bours, educated at Harvard College, was ordained to officiate in 1753. A like provision was made for the Missionary of Norwalk and Ridgefield. At Newbury the people built a second church, and undertook to pay a moiety of the assistant curate's stipend; the other moiety (20%) being furnished by the Missionary whom he was to assist. The person fixed upon was the Rev. Edward Bass, B.A., of Harvard College, the future Bishop of Massachusetts; and as nothing connected with the early history and character of the first American Bishops can be uninteresting, the following letter, introducing him to the notice of the Society, is inserted:—

“ Braintree, Feb. 1, 1752.

“ Rev. Sir,—The bearer, Mr. Bass, is a young gentleman bred at Harvard College, and has preached for some time among the dissenters to good acceptance, but now, upon mature consideration, thinks it his duty to conform to the Church of England, and come over for holy orders, and to be appointed to the new church in Newbury. Both Mr. Plant and the people are highly pleased with him, and, indeed, he is universally well spoken of as a man of piety and sense, a good preacher, and of an agreeable temper. He brings full testimonials from the college, where he has lived, I think, about ten years, which are confirmed by the Clergy of Boston, &c. A person so qualified and recommended can never want your favour and assistance.

“ There is one thing in particular wherein he desires your assistance—viz. that you would do what you can to despatch his business speedily, because he has never had the small-pox, which he is fearful of, it having proved fatal to many New England men in London; and besides, Mr. Plant's ill state of health is another reason for his returning as soon as may be.

“ Mr. Bass is a distant relation of mine, and I shall esteem the favour shewn as an addition to those already conferred on,

“ Dear Sir, your affectionate brother and humble servant,

“ F. MILLER.”¹

Mr. Bass was, accordingly, after a full inquiry into his qualifications, ordained; and in April, 1753, it was reported from the Mission of Newbury that he “ had behaved to their universal satisfaction.”²

The town of Salem was formed into a Church Mission, and Mr. Brockwell removed to it, as the more important place, from Scituate, in 1739. “ He was received with great joy, and found a handsome and well-furnished church, with the Ten Commandments in gold letters upon black, and the Lord’s Prayer and the Creed in black letters upon gold, at the communion table. The congregation seemed seriously disposed to adorn their profession with a Christian course of life.”³ Like other parts of New England, however, Salem was exposed to the exciting effect of visits from the Methodists. In a letter, dated June 15th, 1741, Mr. Brockwell says, “ The distractions Whitfield and Tennent have made in these parts are very great; some labouring under a high spirit of enthusiasm, others of antinomianism, and others under despair, and, what is yet stranger, the very children are affected by their parents’ uneasinesses, and talk nothing less than they of renovation, regeneration, conviction, and conversion, though neither children nor parents understand the meaning of the terms they continually cant about. And even from eight years old to twelve or thirteen they assemble in bodies to vent the imaginary profusions of the Holy Spirit in disorderly praying and preaching; nay, the very

¹ Original Letters, vol. xiii. l. 22.

² Report of 1754, p. 48.

³ Report for 1739, p. 47.

servants and slaves pretend to extraordinary inspirations; and, under the veil thereof, cherish their idle dispositions, and, in lieu of dutifully minding their respective businesses, run rambling about to utter enthusiastic nonsense. The Wesleys and Whitfield are expected here in the fall. We universally dread the consequences of their coming, and I am sure, as to myself, I should be glad of the Society's direction how to behave in such perilous times. The two former, if enemies, are powerful ones; men of great capacities, and fortified by a large fund of learning, whereof Whitfield is destitute, and therefore the victory over him neither difficult nor glorious, however he may boast in his lying and scandalous journals. If the venerable Society please to favour us with their instructions how we are to treat these itinerant preachers, the sooner the better, that we may be armed against the approach of (I fear) these enemies to our Church and Constitution."

Who the principal followers of Whitfield in America were at this period we learn from the following extract of a letter written by Mr. Brockwell, in 1743:—"As to the convulsions in religion raised here by the emissaries of Whitfield, such as Cowper, Tennent, Rogers, Davenport, Bewel, &c., they still continue breaking out in different parts; and, as the Church has steered clear of this religious phrenzy, so I think we have gained by their confusions, seeing the beauty and harmony of government has opened the eyes even of those who were blinded with prejudice."¹

A like opinion was expressed by the Rev. James Macsparran, in a letter addressed to the Bishop of London. The following passage is too interesting to be omitted:—

¹ Original Letters, vol. iv. l. 60.

“ Narraganset, New England, Oct. 18th, 1742.

“ I thank your Lordship, as for many things, so for your fourth letter, wherein you have remarked on Master Whitfield’s Journal. I happened on one of them, but there have been a good many in the country, and have done signal service. God has (contrary to the purposes of Whitfield, and those who invited him into New England) overruled the enthusiasm of the man, to the almost utter overthrow of the Dissenters’ cause here. They are so broken into divisions and parties, that I think they cannot be healed or united without returning into the unity of the Church. Nothing like them, since the French prophets, has appeared, and they riot with religion to that degree, that it were too tedious to trouble your Lordship with a detail of their distracted doings. I cannot omit, however, giving an instance or two. They are said seldom to pray for the king ; when they do, they pray for his conversion : which, what a tendency it may have to make him vile in the eyes of the people, and what the consequence of it may be, I leave to your Lordship’s greater penetration. One of them, lately, after his extempore prayer, instead of giving out the psalm to be sung, as the preacher generally does, by saying, “ Let us sing to the praise and glory of God,”—such a psalm and such a verse—began thus—“ Let us sing to the praise and glory of the Rev. Dr. Watts.” The precentor, fearing this would give offence to the people, mentioned to him his mistake, but he repeated it ; and then the precentor, not being able to bear the blasphemy, gave out the psalm himself, and the people sang it ; when that exercise was over, the pulpiteer not bearing to be so baffled said the third time, “ Let us sing to the praise and glory of the Rev. Dr. Watts,” such and such a hymn of said Watts’s ; and added, that he would sing to said Watts’s praise and glory in spite of men and devils.

“ I hope God will give grace to the clergy of our Church here, to behave with such a steadiness,—as, I thank God, they generally do,—that we shall reap advantage by those confusions, and many souls be saved, by taking sanctuary in the Church, which there is no unpromising prospect of.”

The foregoing account was sent to Bishop Gibson. A

few years later, Mr. Macsparran, in writing his first letter to Bishop Sherlock, after speaking of the great increase of the Church during the last twenty-nine years, urged the necessity of his Lordship's giving strict injunctions to his Commissary, "to have a watchful, but tender eye over the conduct of the Clergy, with respect to their adhering strictly to canon and rubric." "We mistake much," he says, "if we think the best way to reconcile the people to our Church is to humour them with undue compliances. The posterity of the old Puritans here are a sagacious and prying people, and seldom come to Church before they are masters of the Prayer-Book, and know what is respectively bound upon the clergy as well as the laity; and when they see us depart from or disparage our own rules, it rather irreconciles than inclines them to conformity." He then goes on to speak of a different matter:—

"Ever since Mr. Whitfield first propagated Methodism (called here the '*New Light*') through New England, those enthusiastic fires have been breaking out, lo and again, to the almost utter confusion of the sectaries of all sorts, but with some advantage to our Churches. Our present attention is taken up with this false fire's breaking out among the Antipædo-baptists in the places under my care, and as their extravagancies are very extraordinary and uncommon, I am not without hopes the Church will gain by the confusion, and I will do my best among the soberest of them to reduce them by this handle. Whoever is acquainted but with English history can be no stranger to the stratagems of Rome, and how eagerly she embraces every opportunity of mixing her Missionaries in masquerade with all our discontents and enthusiasms; and I make no doubt, my Lord, but she is making her market among us, even by Methodism. I have good assurance that one of Mr. Whitfield's attendants (or Armour Bearer, as he and another were called), when he took his first tour through New England, was then, and is now, a Jesuit, residing lately at Martinico. If a discovery and full proof of this will, in your

Lordship's opinion, be of service to either the Church or Government of England, and you require it of me, I can, if God lengthens out the person's life to that time, get the same authentically proved by the gentleman who knew and conversed at Martinico with said Jesuit upon Whitfield's scheme, and who, when he was with Whitfield at Rhode Island, lodged at the informant's house. It might be dangerous for me to be named in this matter, but nothing shall fright me from getting full information, upon the least signification of your Lordship's pleasure.¹

In the course of our narrative it has been shown, that a considerable number of the candidates for holy Orders was composed of those who had been brought up as Dissenters, or had even acted as Dissenting ministers. From this latter class, the Rev. Solomon Palmer was selected, in 1755, to be itinerant Missionary for the district surrounding New Milford and Litchfield. Mr. Palmer, who was of course fully conversant with the system of the Dissenters in raising money for the support of their religious teachers, strongly urged upon the Society the necessity of making large demands upon the liberality of the several Church congregations, since many among them were as able to contribute as the members of the Society at home. He further recommended that the Society should require of its Missionaries "an account of the circumstances and abilities of their respective Missions, and what money they annually receive from them," with a view to the more equitable apportionment of its own grants.

In the following year, the Rev. Mr. Macclenaghan was ordained to the charge of an extensive tract of country round George Town and Frankfort. He was specially recommended "on account of his uncommon fortitude, and

¹ Fulham MS. April 3rd, 1749.

a mind cheerfully disposed to undergo the dangers and difficulties to be expected in that Mission.”¹ Such qualifications were indeed indispensable in the laborious service on which, as an itinerant Missionary, he was employed. His residence was “an old dismantled fort, where the wind, rain, and snow had a free passage;” and it was moreover exposed to the frequent attacks of the Indians. He says that his head, his heart, and his hands were all employed in directing, encouraging, and fighting for his people. In another letter he describes the fatigues which he underwent as excessive; all his journies were by water, and he was “frequently obliged to tug at an oar.” His labours, however, were attended with visible success in the increase of his congregation and of his communicants. In 1759, worn out, as he describes himself, with the toils and difficulties of his Mission, he asked permission to resign it, and accepted the charge of Christ Church, Philadelphia.²

The other Missionaries of this period reported favourably of the state of their congregations and the growth of religious principle. The Rev. John Graves, vicar of Clapham, Yorkshire, and brother of the Missionary of New London, was appointed to succeed Mr. Checkley,³ at Providence, in Rhode Island, in 1754. He appears to have been impelled by an earnest sense of duty to resign his living for the purpose of labouring in a comparatively

¹ Report for 1756, p. 37.

² Journal, vol. xiv. pp. 41, 147, 203.

³ The Rev. John Checkley reprinted in America “Leslie’s Short and Easy Method with the Deists,” together with a discourse concerning Episcopacy. For this he was indicted at Boston, in 1730, and found guilty of a “false and scandalous libel” against “the ministers of the Gospel by law established in the province;” the argument of the discourse being, that preachers not duly ordained and commissioned were schismatical and excommunicate. He was sentenced to a fine of 50*l.*, and bound over in recognisances for six months.—*Speech of John Checkley upon his Tryal at Boston.* (BRIT. MUS.)

wild and dreary country. Two years after his arrival his church was crowded, and his services were so highly appreciated, that the parishioners wrote to thank the Society for sending so zealous and worthy a clergyman. Besides his own Missions, he officiated as often as he was able at Warwick, a town ten miles distant; the number of communicants at the former place being about fifty; at the latter, twelve.

From Salem, in 1756, Mr. Macgilechrist writes "that true religion gains ground there, and his communicants increase; and that the Church of England is of considerable service in that country, not only to those who are within her pale, but to those likewise that are without, and disown all obligation to her; for by the light she holds forth to them, they perceive many of their errors, and are much brought off from their rigid ways and antinomian principles, and often perceive the truth, except in such doctrines as immediately affect their separation."¹ In 1764, the population of Salem amounted to 4,500, and 110 heads of families belonged to the Church.

We are told also that the Church at Ripton greatly flourished under the care of Mr. Newton.

Many of the settlements, however, were in a deplorable state of spiritual destitution. Thus the Rev. E. Thompson, who gives a satisfactory account of his own Mission at Scituate, in respect to the attendance, both of the English and Indians, on the ordinances of the Church, informs the Society, in 1755, that he had been, on invitation, to perform the services of the Church at Plymouth, where, although the town had been settled more than 120 years, the Liturgy of the Church of England had never before been used in public.²

¹ Report for 1756, p. 39.

² Ibid. 1756, p. 38.

This lack of the means of grace arose in great part from the want of endowments for the support of an adequate body of Clergy. The attention of the Society was directed to this important subject, by Mr. Macsparran, whom we have already quoted on a different matter, and whose letter contains so much sound principle applicable to the settlement of the Church in a new country, that we are tempted to give the following extended extract:—

“ Narraganset, 4th July, 1745. -

“ Having this day had the honour of writing to the venerable Society, in which I took a short notice of the glebe affair, I must now beg leave, for reasons I shall mention anon, to be with you, Rev. Sir, a little more large and explicit upon that matter. From motives which lie concealed from all possible penetration of mine, some of the clergy here greatly dislike the rule relating to glebes; while others confess they feel at present, and imagine they foresee, a greater future advantage arising from it. It is, no doubt, a means to make one popular, to appear against a measure that puts the people to a present expense; though, to look upon it in its true light, it amounts to no more than laying out a little for their children and providing for their better part, when the parents themselves are dead and gone. A motion that looked like bringing in the clergy to declare jointly against it, started last year at Boston, and renewed again last month at the convention in Newport, was quashed by what was advanced at both places, as to any public application to the board; but what may be done in a separate and more private way, one cannot easily guess.

“ As to the hardships upon our poor people, alleged against this rule, that it shuts them out from the Society’s charity, surely it is sufficient to say, that it becomes them to be contented with occasional ministrations, until their numbers and wealth increase, or the Society’s stock is so enlarged as to be adequate to all demands; the last, I am afraid that sacred fund will never arrive at, nor can one well wish that the American clergy should be supported from England through all generations. Where a

people are numerous and wealthy enough to perpetuate the support of religion, but will not, no modesty can mention them as meet objects of the Society's bounty, though they are on that very account the objects of all men's pity ; and when they are able and willing, sure no measure can be better calculated to perpetuate religion than that of the Society's, relating to glebes and manses, whether at the erection of new Missions or the revival of old ones.

"We see already, in consequence of this rule, a small matter given by Mr. Davenport, of Scituate, to which I am told there has been added since some more land by the people.

"At Providence, the house and glebe is said, by Mr. Checkley himself, to be vastly a greater benefit to him than all his other income from the people.

"At Symsbury, when their fifty acres of glebe is perfected, with the parsonage-house, it will save the incumbent very little less than 20*l.* sterling a-year ; and Mr. Gibbs tells me they allow him at present, in lieu of the glebe, and till the house is finished, 120*l.*, this currency, per year.

"At Waterbury, Mr. Lyons says they have purchased some land, talk of adding more, and the minister's house is so forward that he expects they will finish it by fall.

"At Hopkington, where Commissary Price has an estate, there is a good house, and glebe enough to entitle them to the Society's care, especially as Mr. Price says he intends a further addition.

"At Taunton, in compliance with the Society's command, the people have done wonders that way. I was applied to, above a year or two ago, by one of their principal people, and after a great deal said, and my concluding that the clergy could not, with duty and decency, interpose in their favour at home, until they had tried what they could do by way of perpetual provision, they began the business ; and I am now told, from very good hands, that they have purchased a manse and glebe of a very considerable present value. And now, surely, such first fruits, which promise at the same time a fuller future harvest, is evidence enough in favour of the rule, which, I persuade myself, the venerable Society will insist on, and not depart from without weightier reasons than any I have yet heard or am aware of.

“ I have had the honour of holding a Mission in the Society’s service almost five-and-twenty years, and though I can with pleasure compare the present with the past times, and have seen a great deal done in building new churches, yet, antecedent to this order, nothing was attempted to perpetuate the church or ease the Society. There is no doubt that a clergyman that lives on a fee-simple estate of his own may improve it greatly in favour of his family, if he has posterity ; whereas he who lives on a glebe, whilst he is improving for his own convenience, pleasure, or profit, is doing something at the same time for the church, and increasing its future income. I hope, however, these are not the grounds of the present dissatisfaction at this rule, and I hope, too, that no efforts will be effectual either entirely to stop or clap a clog on a measure so evidently adapted to the advantage of the church. As the affair does not at all affect me, so I profess to be free from all undue influence, and should not have offered you the interruption of this long letter were it not to suggest these few hints, which you are able to express in a stronger and clearer light to the leading members of the board, if they obtain your approbation and there is occasion of them.¹”

While we are upon this subject, justice requires us to mention that several instances occurred about this time of gifts or bequests for the endowment of the Church in different Missions. Mr. Samuel Colburn, of Braintree, left land for the site of a Church, and £200 currency towards the expense of the building ; he left also an estate of 111 acres, with a house upon it, for the permanent endowment of the Church. “ A handsome benefaction,” as Dr. Miller, the Missionary, observes, “ from one who was only a private sentinel in the provincial troops, and died in the expedition against Crown Point.”²

Still more important is it to record that Governor Wentworth, in 1762, having authority from his Majesty to distribute by grant many tracts of land in New Hampshire,

¹ Original Letters, vol. v. l. 29.

² Report for 1758, p. 38.

made over to the Society a lot of about 300 acres severally in 120 new townships, together with a glebe for the use of the Clergyman. Tracts of land, however, in a new settlement, are but of nominal value, and the Society was the chief source to which the American Clergy looked for support.

Mr. Palmer mentions the good effect which the services of the Church had produced on a neighbouring congregation of Dissenters, who, he says, "observing our regular method of reading the Scripture in Church, have, in their last parish meeting, voted that a new folio Bible be bought for them, and that their teacher shall read lessons out of it every Sunday morning and evening."

The Rev. Jacob Bailey, itinerant Missionary for the eastern frontiers of Massachusetts Bay, in reporting his arrival, says, March 26, 1761, "I arrived at Boston about the 1st of June, and travelled by land, 190 miles, to Frankfort, the place of my residence, where I was received by the poor inhabitants of this and the neighbouring parts with manifest tokens of satisfaction; and they appeared sensibly affected with the goodness of the Society in sending them a minister." He states that in the county of Lincoln, which contained a population of 1,900 families, scattered over a country extending one hundred miles in length and sixty in breadth, he found no teachers of any denomination, save only a number of illiterate exhorters who rambled about the country. The people were a mixture of several nations, languages, and religions, but pretty constant in their attendance on Divine worship. He adds:¹—

"Travelling here is attended with the utmost difficulty, the whole country being full of rapid rivers and impenetrable forests; and in the winter season the weather is so excessively cold, and

¹ Original Letters, vol. xviii. l. 59.

the snow so deep, that moving from place to place is still more impracticable; I have, notwithstanding these discouragements, travelled six or seven hundred miles backward and forward to preach among the people and to baptize their children, and am a witness to their extreme poverty."

The following year he writes, that his communicants at George Town had increased from seventeen to fifty, and that it gave him "great satisfaction to find industry, morality, and religion flourishing among a people till of late abandoned to disorder, vice, and profaneness."¹ And that the effect of his presence and labours among them were such as he has described, seems to be established by the subjoined testimony to his character from an elder brother in the ministry, Mr. Caner:—

"It is a great pleasure to me to hear, as I have repeatedly, that Mr. Bailey, lately sent Missionary to Kennebec, is highly useful there, by his diligence, prudence, and exemplary conduct. That county, though a frontier, peoples very fast. Had they the happiness of two more such Missionaries, one at the western, the other at the eastern boundary, as Mr. Bailey is in the centre, the whole country would unite in one profession, without any perplexing disputes or differing sentiments. But this is a matter which must be referred to the wisdom of the Society."²

It appears from one of Mr. Bailey's reports, that Pownalborough was the only place in the province where the Church was planted before any other worship had been introduced.

The Rev. E. Punderson remarks, in a letter written by him, November 12th, 1762, that although he had entered upon his thirtieth year of service, he had, during that long term, been enabled to officiate every Sunday except one; and that, amid many difficulties and discouragements, he

¹ Report for 1762, p. 3.

² Original Letters, vol. xviii. l. 100.

saw much to cheer him. In Guilford, Newhaven, and Blandford, he had six churches and 160 communicants; and had, altogether, by the blessing of God on his endeavours, been the means of raising eleven churches in Connecticut.¹

It will probably be admitted by impartial persons, whatever be their own religious bias, that the members of the Church in New England were far from enjoying the full benefit of toleration. Not only were they subject to direct taxation for the support of independent ministers, but every obstacle was thrown in the way of their obtaining the full settlement and organization of their own communion. This may be gathered from the following among many similar statements. It is an extract from a letter of the Rev. Edward Winslow, dated Stratford, July 1, 1763.

“Never, sir, did a malignant spirit of opposition to the Church rage with greater vehemence than of late. The most indecent reflections upon the venerable Society, and the general constitution of the Church, the most gross and flagrant misrepresentations of the state of the Church in these colonies, and the most false and abusive personal invectives against the Clergy, have lately appeared in print among us; and all this at a time when there has been not the least particular cause to provoke such a temper. On the contrary, wherever the Church has been planted, the conduct of its members and ministers has been so prudent and charitable, as, at least, to give no just occasion of offence. No cause has, in truth, excited all this virulence, but that the Church has everywhere grown and increased, and the prospect is continually enlarging of its still further and substantial increase; and its condition is such in the colonies as that, since the glorious conclusion of the war and the happy establishment of peace, with such an accession of territory on this continent, the dissenters are from hence jealous the Church may meet with some further encouragement, and perhaps enjoy those essential parts of her

¹ Report for 1763, p. 52.

worship and discipline which we have hitherto been destitute of ; and they know not how to bear the thoughts of our having the same complete exercise of religion in our way as they have in theirs. They may really thank themselves for no small part of that growth of the Church at which they are now so enraged. Their continual disputes and endless divisions have driven sensible and serious persons to take refuge in our happy constitution. They know they cannot charge the Church, professors, or Clergy, with having made use of any of their own arts to withdraw their people, and that we have been wholly unconcerned, and [have] in no instances intermeddled with their disputes and contentions. The increase the Church has received by means of these confusions, has been by its obvious superior worth and excellence. Those venomous pieces which have been published, and what has been wrote in answer to them, have been and will be transmitted to the venerable Society by Dr. Johnson, Mr. Beach, Mr. Apthorp, and those gentlemen who have chiefly interposed their wise and worthy endeavours to vindicate our cause and antidote the mischiefs designed to be spread by these licentious writings."

And while the adversaries of the Church were doing their best to injure and cripple it, the number of its influential friends, either at home or in the colony, was small.

There were at this early period of North American history but few independent gentlemen of fortune, and of these only occasionally was found one who concerned himself in the welfare and progress of the Church. Such a one, however, was Mr. John Merrett, who, while lamenting the indifference of the mother country, distinguished himself by his zeal and liberality in the cause of religion. He was a regular attendant and communicant at the Church of Providence while the weather permitted ; and when confined to his own house, discharged "daily the office of a priest in his own family," and read the service from the Book of Common Prayer in the presence of all his household.

At his death, in 1770, he left the sum of one hundred pounds to each of the two Societies for Promoting Christian Knowledge and for the Propagation of the Gospel; and an equal amount to the Church at Providence.

We have now to remark the commencement of efforts for the better organization of the Church. It had been determined by the Clergy who followed the remains of Dr. Cutler to the grave, in 1765, to have an annual convention at Boston, with a view to promote mutual love and harmony among themselves, and to assist each other with advice in difficult cases. The plan was approved by the Bishop of London, and the first meeting took place in June, 1766. The appearance of fourteen Clergymen walking in their gowns and cassocks in procession to Church, was a novelty in America at that time, and was calculated to create an impression of the importance of the body to which they belonged. Dr. Caner, who was appointed Moderator, preached the first sermon in King's Chapel.¹

But, compared with the harvest to be reaped, the labourers were still miserably few, and the subjoined account of a Missionary tour by the Rev. Richard Mansfield² will convey some notion of the wide tracts of country which were wholly unsupplied with the ministrations of religion. The occasional visits of a Clergyman were doubtless highly valued by a people almost entirely

¹ Macgilchrist, June 27, 1766.

² "Mansfield of Derby I knew, one of the holiest and most guileless of men. When the present Trinity Church, New Haven, of which I laid the corner stone in 1814, was consecrated by Bishop Hobart, Dr. Mansfield was present. He went up into the pulpit, and after looking around in silent thought, he said, 'I remember when there were but three Churchmen in New Haven, and two of them men of doubtful character.' So great was the puritan bitterness, that when young Mansfield sailed for England to receive holy orders, his own sister prayed that he might be lost at sea."—*Rev. Dr. Jarvis*.

cut off from Christian communion, but could hardly avail to prevent their gradual deterioration; and we are guilty of no extravagance in attributing much of the religious indifference, as well as of the hostility to the Church, which prevails in the New England states, to the want of an early provision of the appointed means of grace. The letter is dated Derby, September 25, 1768:—

“ In May last, I undertook and performed a long journey, and visited a considerable number of the professors of the Church of England, in seven or eight different towns of the colonies of New York and Massachusetts Bay, who live at a great distance from any Minister of the Church of England, and who are very desirous of Missionaries coming among them. At Lainsborough, a town within the province of Massachusetts Bay, I found a considerable number of serious and sensible professors of the Church of England, who, having been tired out with the very rigid doctrines of the enthusiastic independent teacher of the town, had embraced the Church of England, built them a small church, in which they constantly meet, and join in our liturgy, and in reading and hearing good sermons. Here I preached a lecture and performed Divine service, as I did also at Williamstown, another town in the same province, about sixteen miles north of Lainsborough, where there are also a number of families who profess for the Church. I then proceeded northward to the towns of Pownall, Arlington, and Manchester, which lie in the western parts of those lands which were patented out into townships by the late governor of New Hampshire, and afterwards annexed to the colony of New York. Here I found a considerable number of families who were professors of the Church, to whom I preached, performed Divine service, and baptized their children; and the people of other denominations in general gave their attendance, and seemed very desirous of instruction. The town of Arlington, which consists of about thirty families, is settled almost entirely by Church people, and Captain Hawley, a principal planter, has constantly read service and sermons in his own house, where the people have attended, by which means a sense of religion hath been kept up

among them. But the other towns in these parts, having been settled by people of different denominations, from different towns in New England and New York, can agree in nothing; and having no ordained ministers of any kind, and no teachers, excepting some strolling, ignorant, enthusiastic anabaptist and new-light exhorters, and some of them also scandalously immoral in their lives, are in danger of falling into entire irreligion. If the Society, therefore, should see fit to make a Mission at Arlington, it would be likely to be of very great and extensive service. Manchester and Arlington, the most northern towns which I visited, are about a hundred miles distant from Derby. The people expressed themselves very thankful to me for coming among them, but being new settlers, and generally poor, were not able to contribute to me half enough to defray the expenses of my journey. On my way homewards, I preached at New Concord, within the colony of New York, about twenty miles distant from Albany, where there are about twenty families of the Church of England, who hope that Mr. Bostwick, a candidate for holy orders, will be ordained and settled among them. I was employed near three weeks on this journey, and in the time baptized thirty-two infants and two adults.”¹

The Rev. Alexander Murray, of Reading, relates, (25 March, 1769,) how for the recovery of his strength, after an ague fit, he was advised to make a tour “into the more mountainous grounds,” and accordingly traversed the north-west parts of the country as far as the Susquehana. Here he found several places which had been planted by the Dutch and English, and baptized several children of Dissenters as well as those of Churchmen. The families all concurred in lamenting their want of the ordinances of religion, and besought him to visit them, if it were only once or twice a year, to baptize their children, for he was the only minister of any persuasion in the whole county.

Mr. Murray adds his experience to that of many others

¹ Original Letters, vol. xvii. l. 273.

already quoted, as to the evils which arose from the absence of superior authority. An extract from a letter dated March 26, 1772, on the ill consequences of a popular election of the clergy may be read with advantage.

“ The Lutherans of this town are just now a suing and execrating one another on the occasion of electing a minister ; and this satisfaction they frequently indulge themselves, being fonder of new clergy than new clothes, which they are parsimonious enough to wear threadbare ; and when they are ripe for a change of pastors, they make them do so too, and so starve them out of place with cold or hunger. Their subscriptions are scanty, at best, and these they continue or withhold annually at pleasure ; for, in their language, they *hire* a minister generally for no longer than a year, which renders this office as contemptible as poor. Their elections are like Polish Diets ; they meet again and again, and as often dissolve in confusion, till at last, tired out, they submit to any measure or any minister for a time, which makes your settlements short-lived and unsatisfactory, and vacancies long. These sad effects of anarchy too evidently show the necessity of some ecclesiastical government in these parts of the world. Must not Christianity, in such circumstances, suffer in the eyes of the heathen, whose morals it should mend, not corrupt ? Besides, the members of our own Church are no more than men, and may be brought to think the more lightly of religion and its ministers, especially in those places where they are comparatively but a small number.

“ Has France or Spain, Russia or Turkey, left their religions in such a distracted state as ours in British America ? I address a wise and zealous advocate for an American episcopate, “ judge you what I say.”

It is sometimes said that the principal difference between the Church and dissent is one of ecclesiastical government, and that, practically, it is of little consequence to the people by what denomination of ministers they are instructed. It were easy to prove by argument the exceeding shallowness of this popular remark ; but it seems more

appropriate to our present subject to shew by the facts of history, how the doctrines of revelation, and the sacraments ordained by Christ Himself, have become mutilated or neglected through the want of a divinely-constituted Church. With this view is cited the following statement, as to the general neglect of baptism. It was sent home by the Rev. John Tyler, Missionary of Norwich, in Connecticut, in Jan. 1770 :—

“ Since I came into this Mission, I have observed that the professors of the Church do, and have in times past, very much neglected bringing their children to the sacrament of baptism ; and are, and have been, themselves extremely backward in becoming partakers of the Lord’s Supper. This evil practice in the Church people here, with respect to baptism and the Lord’s Supper, they seem to have learned while dissenters ; and upon conforming to the Church, are not without difficulty cleared from a tincture of this evil. The anabaptists are numerous in parts adjacent—some few here ; and the dissenters here seem too generally to consider baptism of infants, or indeed the baptism of any, to be a matter of no great importance in religion ; and, though they do not seem in their principles to despise the sacrament of the Lord’s Supper, yet their superstitious notions about it produce effects almost (I may well say) as injurious to Christianity as their contempt of baptism. For they seem too generally to consider the Lord’s Supper as no means of salvation, but rather as a solace for those whom they imagine to be out of the reach of all possibility of perishing ; and then they seem to think (and not without reason) that the participation of the Lord’s Supper is not a matter of pressing necessity to such ; and for any others to partake who are not thus qualified, they seem to imagine cannot be, without almost infinite hazard to their souls ; and accordingly, in this large and populous town of Norwich, containing, I suppose, at least twelve hundred families of dissenters, there is not in all these but only a very small and inconsiderable number of communicants.

“ Doubtless you will say, ‘ Why, indeed, my account is some-

what extravagant, or else I live in a town peculiarly fanatical.' True, sir, this town, and those adjacent, are rather uncommonly enthusiastical, even for New England.

"Ever since I have been in this Mission, by dispersing of books, and by preaching and conversation, I have earnestly laboured (but more especially of late) among my people, to cure this evil practice of neglecting the two Christian sacraments. My endeavours have been effectual with some, and I hope will soon be so with more; and be sure (if God continues my life) I shall not rest easy till I can, with truth and pleasure, give the Society a more satisfactory account of this matter."

The destitute condition, in respect to the means of grace, of vast districts in New England, and the difficulties which beset the Missionary in his attempts to visit the members of the Church when thinly scattered over the face of a new country, are set forth in a letter of the Rev. Samuel Peters, who, attended by his clerk, undertook a Missionary tour among the poor emigrants in September, 1770.

He describes two large counties on the west side of the Connecticut, containing several thousand souls—in one of which, viz. Gloucester, there was a teacher of the sect of Independents, but not one of any denomination in Cumberland. He then proceeds:—

"On the east side of the river are many settlements begun, whose inhabitants much resemble their neighbours in every uncomfortable property. Among these people I spent four weeks, travelling from place to place, preaching and baptizing the people, being careful to attend Divine service; many wishing for a Clergyman to reside among them. . .

"In October I travelled west from the river in a pathless wilderness, by trees marked and by the compass. Crossed the Green Mountain, (sixteen miles over,) which begins at the sea, in New-Haven, extending north-east to the river St. Lawrence, and is the height of land between the two rivers, Hudson and Connecticut. On the west of this mountain lie the towns of Sunderland, Erling-

ton, &c. Here are a number of very serious Churchmen. With them I tarried three days, preached and baptized, much pleased with their rubrical devotion and zeal for religion, owing much to Captain Howley, a worthy and good man. From hence I travelled west to Hudson river, and arrived at Fort Miller, fifty miles north of Albany. Here I spent several days visiting the people, preaching and baptizing. Here are wanted two Clergymen very much. From hence I continued my journey south-west up Mohawk River; preached at Schenectady. From there to Albany, thence to America Precinct, Sharon, &c., and tarried several days; performed Divine Service among them. This America Precinct is in great want of a Clergyman. From hence I went to Woodbury, and spent one Sunday; from hence to my own house upon November 6th.

“In this excursion I baptized thirty-five infants and buried one; preached as often as every other day; travelled 700 or 800 miles, in a way so uneven that I was in perils oft; and God be praised for my preservation, and that I am alive to pity and pray for those in the wilderness. The spirit of colonization seems worthy of all encouragement from the patron of Great Britain, as thereby very soon his dominion will reach from sea to sea. . .

“I must confess the prospect existing in my mind of future accessions to the best of Churches, ‘such as shall be saved,’ in these new plantations, fills me with a principle of enthusiasm which guided the primitive Christians to wander about, being destitute; and, was my ability equal to my inclinations, I would choose to spend my life among them, and so fly from the midst of these sons of liberty and property, who imagine his sacred majesty is capable of rebellion against his supreme subjects in America.

“Be this as it may, the Clergy and Church of England want many supports to make them equal (in temporals) with the various sects who ride with whips and spurs. We are curing our troubles as the early Christians prevented theirs, by our prayers and tears; and we hope deliverance at least, if we quit the mortal scene, with ‘Well done!’”

He concludes his interesting narrative in the following characteristic manner:—

“ If what I have done in the preceding half-year shall be approved of by the Society, it will add to my happiness, and be a stimulus touching my future conduct in this pauper and contending part of the kingdom of Great Britain. Having no faculty to dissemble, no inclination to trim between Charles and Oliver, I seek to live obstinately just ; hence must bid adieu to the laurels natural to the fond admirers of Hugh Peters, my grandfather’s uncle.”

In a previous letter, dated June 25, 1768, he described the spirit of disaffection and republicanism which was spreading more widely every day, and which, resisted for the most part by the clergy and laity of the Church, was fostered and inflamed by the great body of Dissenters, who declaimed against the Parliament and the Church, and denounced the Archbishop of Canterbury as another Laud. Mr. Peters thus speaks :—

“ I spend most of my time endeavouring the good of these people within the circle of thirty and forty miles ; but, by some evil fate having seized the Dissenting teachers and their adherents, nothing seems worth their notice or consideration except the glorious idea of an Oliverian revolution, or something as bad. The peasantry I have often heard say, that they had rather (notwithstanding their religious tenets are bent upon John Calvin’s wheel) be under the government of the Pretender, the French, Dutch, or Spanish monarchies, than to submit to acts of a British parliament, or an American episcopate. You may have a faint idea of what doctrines are generally taught by those enemies of peace and order, by reading Livingstone’s scurrilous letter to my lord of Llandaff.¹ Livingstone has now immortalized his name with the American puritans. That man is the greatest patriot who blows the loudest blast in honour of their mighty hero, Livingstone. Was his lordship, the worthy ordinary of Llandaff, now in America, he could find but little grounds to give a better

¹ See the Bishop of Llandaff’s (Dr. Ewer) Sermon preached at the Anniversary of the Society, 1767.

character of its inhabitants than appears in his very excellent sermon."

This growing discontent is noticed in the letters of the other Missionaries. The Rev. E. Dibblee, of Stamford, says, Oct. 18, 1768:—

"With pleasure I can inform the venerable Board of the peaceable, flourishing, increasing state of my parish, and of their firm attachment to our happy constitution, both in church and state; notwithstanding, party rage never ran higher; and, under the specious pretence of civil and religious liberty, every art is used to throw us into all imaginable confusion, and to prejudice his Majesty's subjects against the conduct of the government in being, and our religious constitution in particular. We hope in God for better times, that the provinces will obtain redress of just grievances, and effectual provision be made for the support and encouragement of our national religion in these remote regions, and the subjects of it delivered from their fears and insults, and indulged in the full enjoyments of their religious profession and Church government."²

To the same purport is a letter of the Rev. Bela Hubbard, dated Newhaven, January 10, 1769:—

"I can say it with sincerity, that I have faithfully endeavoured to discharge my duty as a servant of the Society, and as a minister of Jesus Christ; and I trust that my labours in the vineyard of Christ have not been altogether in vain. I have not failed to exhort them in these unhappy times, to let the world see that Churchmen fear God and honour the king—to do their utmost to live peaceably with all men—not to use our liberty for a cloak of maliciousness, but as the servants of God; and I know of no disposition in any one member of our excellent Church to go over to the party of the Sons of Liberty (though falsely so called) who have given so much trouble to the mother country, and to all in her colonies who are friendly to the cause of the nation."³

¹ Original Letters, vol. xvii. l. 329^a.

² Ibid. l. 109.

³ Ibid. l. 171.

As years rolled on, affairs became more and more embroiled; and Mr. Dibblee thus gives vent to his feelings:—

“Stamford, 5th April, 1775.

“We view with the deepest anxiety, affliction, and concern, the great dangers we are in by reason of our unhappy divisions, and the amazing height to which the unfortunate dispute between Great Britain and these remote provinces hath arisen; the baneful influence it hath upon the interest of true religion, and the well-being of the Church.

“Our duty as ministers of religion is now attended with peculiar difficulty—faithfully to discharge the duties of our office, and yet carefully to avoid taking any part in these political disputes, as I trust my brethren in this colony have done, as much as possible, notwithstanding any representations to our prejudice to the contrary. We can only pray Almighty God, in compassion to our Church and nation and the well-being of these provinces in particular, to avert those terrible calamities that are the natural result of such an unhappy contest with our parent state, to save us from the horrors of civil war, and remove all groundless fears and jealousies, ‘and whatsoever else may hinder us from godly union and concord.’”

But more numerous were the promoters of discord than the preachers of peace; and Mr. Graves tells us of the means taken to excite the passions of the people by the most inflammatory publications, as well as of the constant inculcation of the duty of loyalty and obedience by the Missionaries. In April, 1770, he says, “The face of public affairs here is melancholy. Altar against altar in the Church, and such open, bold attacks made upon the state, as, I believe, the English annals do not furnish us with the like since the reign of King Charles I.” These were the signs of the coming storm. Two subsequent letters bring us acquainted with the effects of the revolution upon the Church and the Clergy. On the 19th of September, 1776, Mr. Graves writes thus:—

“Since independency has been proclaimed here, my two churches have been shut up; still I go on to baptize their children, visit their sick, bury their dead, and frequent their respective houses with the same freedom as usual; and add, with gratitude, that their benefactions to me since the above period have been great, and far beyond what I ever experienced from them before, founded upon their commiserating sense that the necessary means of supporting my large family—a wife and seven children—were now entirely cut off.”

In 1782, he informed the Society that he had been expelled, by a vote of the vestry, from the parsonage-house and glebe, because he refused to open his church in conformity with the principles of independence. It appears that he was still personally in much estimation with his parishioners, who continued to shew him much kindness; but he refused, in his public ministrations, to comply with the requirements of the republicans, and was therefore obliged to leave his house, and resign a cure which he had served with advantage to the congregation for a period of twenty-six years.

The Rev. Marmaduke Browne, Missionary at Newport, in the same island, gives similar testimony to that which is supplied in the letters of Mr. Graves, both as to the violent proceedings of the sons of liberty, and the loyal and orderly conduct of the Churchmen, and he concludes with an observation of much practical wisdom:—“I cannot help wishing that the government would pay more attention to the welfare of the Church of England in North America than it has hitherto done; it being the opinion of many, who do not pretend to the spirit of prophecy, that a disregard to this will be, some time or other, attended with consequences fatal and pernicious. They think a religious establishment necessary to preserve the peace and quiet of a country, which the Church of England is so far from

being in these parts, that it is little better than in a state of persecution."

In another letter of the same year he states the lamentable fact, that not one-third of the inhabitants of that colony were baptized.

Some further extracts from the letters of the Missionaries at this period will serve to convey a notion of the troubles and sufferings to which they were exposed during the course of the civil war.

The Rev. Dr. Caner, who gives his testimony to the firmness, tempered by prudence, with which the Clergy conducted themselves amid their severe trials, sends home the following melancholy details, June 2, 1775 :—

"Mr. Serjeant, of Cambridge, has been obliged, with his family, to fly for the safety of their lives, nor can I learn where he is concealed. His fine church is turned into barracks by the rebels, and a beautiful organ that was in it broke to pieces.

"Mr. Weeks, of Marblehead, has also fled with his family, since which I have had no intelligence what is become of him.

"Mr. Wiswall, of Falmouth, after being taken prisoner, escaped out of their hands, and has taken shelter in this town, but his family remain at the mercy of the rebels. All letters are intercepted, so that I can obtain no particular account of the other Missionaries. I have heard, indeed, that Mr. Winslow of Braintree, Mr. Thompson of Scituate, and Mr. Clark of Dedham, have not left their Missions, nor suffered any actual violence, though much threatened. In short, we are all of us in a distressful situation. In the town we are exposed to famine ; in the country, to the sword. The town is straitly besieged, and whether the king's troops are not thought strong enough, or whether the general has no fighting orders, I cannot say ; but this I am certain of, that unless something be speedily done, the town will fall into the hands of the rebels, and we shall all of us be put to the sword. The prospect of such an event, together with the barbarities committed by the rebels, has so intimidated many of the

king's loyal subjects that they are fled, and are daily flying, to Halifax, to Quebec, to the West Indies, and to England."¹

The Rev. J. W. Weeks, the Missionary of Marblehead, —a town containing, at that time, a population of 6,500, four-fifths of which were Dissenters, but very moderate and quiet,—writes in the same strain:—

“ Portsmouth, September 7th, 1775.

“The condition of your Missionaries is truly deplorable: they have enemies all around them, and no friends but God and their consciences. I am now stripped of the comforts and conveniences of life; my wife and a family of eight helpless children are obliged to seek shelter in a wilderness, the horrors of which they had never seen or felt before. And yet even there they have not been suffered to remain in quiet. Their happiness has been often interrupted by insults, and by the snapping of a loaded gun at Mr. Bailey and me while walking in the garden. We have no hope but in the experience of your wonted charity.”

Dr. Caner, like many of his brethren, was soon afterwards compelled to leave his parish, and seek refuge in the loyal colony of Nova Scotia.

But before dismissing his name, it seems due to one who faithfully served the Church for a period of half a century, to give at least a brief outline of his history. After filling, for a short time, the subordinate office of catechist, he was, in 1727, ordained to the Mission of Fairfield, where he remained till the year 1747, when he was appointed to King's Chapel, Boston, and on quitting his Mission took occasion to send home a summary of his services, showing that whereas, on his arrival at Fairfield, there were but 12 communicants, he left 68; and that at Norwalk, where there were none, he left 115, besides 20 at

¹ Original Letters, vol. xviii. l. 132.

Stanford. The subscriptions that were raised in the Mission he appropriated to the erection of churches.¹ For the thirty years of his residence at Boston, though receiving no allowance from the Society, he continued to act as its confidential friend and correspondent, especially in regard to the recommendation of candidates for holy orders. In 1766, he received the honorary degree of D.D. by diploma. But not age, nor long service, nor honour, could protect him from republican jealousy. He thus describes his escape :—

“Halifax, May 10th, 1776.

“As to the Clergy of Boston, indeed, they have for eleven months past been exposed to difficulty and distress in every shape; and as to myself, having determined to maintain my post as long as possible, I continued to officiate to the small remains of my parishioners, though without a support, till the 10th of March, when I suddenly and unexpectedly received notice that the king's troops would immediately evacuate the town. It is not easy to paint the distress and confusion of the inhabitants on this occasion. I had but six or seven hours allowed to prepare for this measure, being obliged to embark the same day for Halifax, where we arrived the 1st of April. This sudden movement prevented me from saving my books, furniture, or any part of my interest, except bedding, wearing apparel, and a little provision for my small family during the passage.

“I am now at Halifax with my daughter and servant, but without any means of support, except what I receive from the benevolence of the worthy Dr. Breynton.”

He soon afterwards sailed for England, and was received by the Society with the respect which he so well deserved, as the father of the American Clergy. The Society offered to him the choice of any of the Missions then vacant; and he was appointed to Bristol, in Rhode Island:—and thus, through the changes and chances of

¹ Journal, vol. x. p. 366.

life, he re-assumed, in his old age, a similar employment to that which he undertook in youth.¹

Besides the personal hardships to which the Clergy were exposed by their fidelity to the king, they had to choose the painful alternative of departing from the Liturgy, to which they had promised to conform, by omitting the prayers for the king and royal family, or to close their churches altogether. The Clergy of New England adopted the latter course, conceiving that there was no authority which could release them from their oath of allegiance, or from their obligation of conforming to the Book of Common Prayer. Many of them, however, though compelled by conscientious scruples to abstain from officiating in public, remained, as long as it was safe, in their Missions ready to perform the occasional services whenever they might be required by their parishioners.

To the list of those Clergymen who sought for Ordination in the Church from a conviction of the unscriptural grounds of nonconformity, is to be added that of the Rev. Mather Byles, whose ancestors were of great reputation among the early Puritans. He was son of Dr. Byles, a dissenting minister of Boston, and had himself been a preacher for ten years at New London. After a careful examination of the argument for Episcopacy, he resigned his functions and conformed to the Church of England. On the death of Mr. Greaton he was elected to succeed him as Rector of Christ Church, Boston.

Having presented satisfactory testimonials as to his character and qualifications, he was ordained by the Bishop of London, and took possession of his parish in September, 1768, a very critical time to enter upon his

¹ Report for 1777, p. 15.

ministry. The congregation had already been thinned by the divisions which were then commencing; but he still reckoned 100 families who were regular attendants at Divine service, and the number of his actual communicants was fifty. For a few years he bore up against the gradually increasing torrent of discontent, but finding, in 1775, that his congregation at Boston was determined to withdraw all further support, he accepted an invitation from the Churchmen of Portsmouth. "Unhappily, however," he says, "on the very next day the sword of civil war was unsheathed, and there was a battle between the regulars and provincials, in which numbers were killed on both sides. In consequence of this, New England is now in an uproar—Boston is besieged—letters are intercepted—and all friendly intercourse between town and country prevented. The inhabitants of this place are now confined to a garrison; nor, indeed, is there any safety elsewhere for those who have distinguished themselves as friends of Government."

And again, in a letter dated Halifax, May 4, 1776, he writes:—

"In my last I gave you a particular account of my melancholy situation and prospects, with the reasons of my not repairing to my Mission at Portsmouth. All the evils of which I was then apprehensive have been since realized, with the addition of many others, which I at that time hardly supposed possible. Close confinement, scarcity of provision, and even cannonading and bombardment, I was in some measure prepared for; but I must confess I had not the least suspicion that the army would ever have evacuated Boston. That astonishing event has now taken place; and the retreat has been so sudden and precipitate, that it has totally ruined multitudes, who thought themselves perfectly secure in the British protection. Of this number I am one, not being allowed to bring away my furniture, or anything that I possessed, but a couple of beds, with such articles as might

be contained in a few trunks and boxes. I now see myself, without being guilty of any crime to occasion it, reduced, within the compass of a few days, to the most distressing circumstances imaginable—an exile from my native country—pent up in one wretched chamber, in a strange place, together with my five motherless children, one son and four daughters—deprived of every other earthly enjoyment, and entirely at a loss as to my future residence and subsistence. Such are the horrors of civil war!—and I have nothing to console me, unless it be a consciousness that I have never contributed to kindle the destructive flame, but, on the contrary, have exerted all my little influence to prevent it.

“P.S.—Dr. Caner, Mr. Walter, and Mr. Badger, are all safe at Halifax. Mr. Thompson, of Scituate, is dead.”

This mention of the death of the Rev. E. Thompson seems to require the insertion, in this place, of the high testimony which was borne to his character by his brethren. The Rev. Edward Winslow communicates the mournful intelligence of his death in the following terms:

“April 10, 1776.

“Of our number, one of the worthiest, my much loved friend and neighbour, the Rev. Mr. Thompson, of Scituate, it has pleased God to remove from his station by death. I was called to perform the last Christian office to his remains on the 2d December past. He continued firm to his principles to the last. In the support of them, and of his duty to the Church, he met with some harsh treatment, under which he gave substantial evidence of a truly Christian temper, as he also did under a long and painful exercise from bodily infirmities. It may with justice be said that he was exemplary in his disposition and deportment, both in life and at death. Both appeared truly Christian. His family, flock, and brethren have sustained a loss peculiarly affecting at this time.”

And Dr. Caner refers, though more briefly, to the high estimation in which Mr. Thompson was held:—

“ Boston, January 14, 1776.

“ Mr. Wiswall, late Missionary at Falmouth, takes charge of this letter, which is intended to acquaint the Society with the death of their faithful and very worthy Missionary, Mr. Thompson, of Scituate. It is said that his death was partly owing to bodily disorder, and partly to some uncivil treatment from the rebels in his neighbourhood. The parish are earnestly desirous of being re-supplied, but I can hardly think any gentleman would undertake the Mission in these troublesome times.

“ What views Mr. Wiswall has in going to England I cannot say. He has no parish, indeed ; the town of Falmouth being burnt, and his people in consequence scattered abroad. Possibly he may apply to the Society for some favour. If so, I must say that he has been a diligent and prudent Minister, and a very great sufferer in the confusion that now prevails. Indeed, we all of us labour under so much distress, that we should gladly remove to some place of peace and safety.

“ As to myself, in particular, the scarcity and dearness of every necessary of life would have determined me for England, if I could see the least ground to hope for a support there ; but as I see none, I am obliged to submit to the evil of the present day as well as I can. The wealthier part of my parish have provided for themselves by removing to England, or elsewhere ; so, while the few necessities of life are risen to an exorbitant price, my salary is diminished to an insufficiency, through the poverty of the few remaining parishioners.”

Some additional insight into the temper of the times, and the ungenerous treatment both of the Clergy and the laity of the Church, may be gathered from the following extract of a letter, dated Quebec, July 20, 1778, from Colonel John Peters to his brother, the Rev. Mr. Peters, in London :—

“ The Rev. Dr. Wheelock, (President of Dartmouth College, in New Hampshire,) in conjunction with Deacon Bayley, Mr. Morey, and Mr. Hurd, all justices of the peace, put an end to the Church of England in this State, so early as 1775. They seized me,

Captain Peters, and all the judges of Cumberland and Gloucester, the Rev. Mr. Cossit, and Mr. Cole, and all the Church people for 200 miles upon this river (Connecticut), and confined us in close gaols, after beating and drawing us through water and mud. Here we lay some time, and were to continue in prison until we abjured the king and signed the league and covenant, similar to that in Noll's time, excepting they fought the king's troops, and we were to fight the ministerial troops. Many falling sick, some died ; one of which was Captain Peters' son. We were removed from the gaol, and confined in private houses at our own expense. Captain Peters and myself were guarded by twelve rebel soldiers while sick in bed, and we paid dearly for this honour, and others fared in like manner. I soon recovered from my indisposition, and took the first opportunity and fled to Canada, leaving Cossit, Cole, Peters, Willis, Porter, Sumner, Paplin, &c. in close confinement, where they had misery, insults, and sickness enough. My flight was in 1776, since which my family arrived at Montreal, and inform me that many prisoners died, that Captain Peters had been tried by a court-martial, and ordered to be shot, for refusing to lead his company against the king's troops. He was afterwards reprieved, but still in gaol, and that he was ruined both in health and property ; that Cossit and Cole were alive when they came away, but were under confinement, and had undergone more insults than any of the loyalists, because they had been servants of the Society, which, under pretence (as the rebels say) of propagating religion, had propagated loyalty, in opposition to the liberties of America. If the rebels had said that the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel were, and had been, the only supporters of all the religion and loyalty that is, or ever was, in New England, they would have for once spoke the truth ; but this suits not with their plan."

These details of the sufferings which the Clergy had to undergo for no other offence than the firm but unobtrusive assertion of their own principles, are full of useful instruction ; and we, therefore, make no apology for adding another extract of similar tendency from the Society's correspondence. It is instructive in many ways, both as

showing the utter disregard of individual rights and property by the professed champions of liberty, and the steadfast loyalty of both the Clergy and lay-members of the Church of England. Such loyalty, which has its foundation in the divine commandment, has been proved in more than one revolution, and was also most conspicuously displayed at the time of the insurrection in Canada, in 1837, when, among all the prisoners who were taken fighting against their sovereign, not one was found to be a member of our Church. Such examples may, perhaps, serve to show the responsible ministers of the crown who they are, on whom they may most securely rely for maintaining the connexion between the colonies and the mother country. The statement is taken from a letter of the Rev. Richard Mansfield, whom we have before had occasion to cite, and is dated December 29th, 1775 :—

“ After having resided and constantly performed parochial duties in my Mission, full twenty-seven years without intermission, I have at last been forced to fly from my churches and from my family and home, in order to escape outrage and violence, imprisonment and death, unjustly meditated of late and designed against me ; and have found a temporary asylum in the loyal town of Hempstead, pretty secure, I believe, at present from the power of those violent and infatuated people who persecute me in particular, and disturb the peace of the whole British empire. As soon as these sparks of civil dissension appeared, which have since been blown up into a devouring flame, I did (as I thought it my duty) inculcate upon my parishioners, both from the pulpit and in private conversation, the duty of peaceableness and quiet subjection to the king and to the parent state ; and I am well assured that the clergy in general of the Church in the colony of Connecticut, with most of whom I have the pleasure of a particular acquaintance and friendship, did the same. That my endeavours and influence have had some effect appears from hence, that out of one hundred and thirty families which attended

divine service in our two churches, it is well known that an hundred and ten of them are firm and stedfast friends to government, and that they detest and abhor the present unnatural rebellion, and all those measures which have led to it The worthy Mr. Scovil and the venerable Mr. Beach have had still better success, scarcely a single person to be found of their several congregations but what hath persevered stedfastly in his duty and loyalty ; and there are but few instances to be found in the colony of persons who are professors of the Church, who are not entitled to the same character.¹

He then goes on to describe the insults and abuse to which the Clergy, and generally all the friends of peace, were exposed. They were denounced as Tories and Papists by the populace, and subject to very arbitrary treatment by the republican soldiery. At this alarming crisis he wrote a letter to Governor Tyron, to state it as his opinion that, in case the King's troops were sent to protect the loyalists, several thousand men in the three western counties of the colony would join them.

The contents of this letter were communicated to the "Committee of inquiry," who gave directions for the apprehension of Mr. Mansfield ; but being apprised of the order by his friends, he had just time to effect his escape :—" I was forced," he says, " to flee from home, leaving behind a virtuous, good wife, with one young child newly weaned from the breast, four other children which are small, and not of sufficient age to support themselves, and four others which are adults ; and all of them overwhelmed with grief and bathed in tears, and but very slenderly provided with the means of support, whilst I myself could entertain but very faint hopes, if any at all, considering the badness of the times, of returning back to them in safety. But I hope to be able to maintain some fortitude

¹ Original Letters, vol. xvii. l. 278.

of mind under adversity, and to improve in the virtues of patience and resignation to the disposals of the Divine Providence, which since my misfortunes I have found to yield me some comfort and sensible relief."

A statement sent home by the Rev. J. W. Weeks, contains some interesting particulars of the condition of many of the Churches and congregations of New England in the year 1778. It is therefore given at length:—

"The Church of Pownalborough, on Kennebec, is not much diminished. Mr. Bailey, having been long persecuted, is now treated with a little less severity. When I came away they had not tendered the oath to him. Should they do it, he determines to attempt making his escape to Halifax.

"When I was in that part of the country I baptized many children and married several couples. The Church at George Town is made up of several wealthy farmers who are noted loyalists. I offered to preach to them, but they were afraid to suffer me. They were all obliged to pay taxes to the dissenting ministers, and they dared not dispute it.

"At Falmouth, in Casco Bay, I used to preach frequently, even after the church was burnt. The congregation was small, but exceedingly well-disposed, being enemies of the rebellion, and friends to government.

"The church at Portsmouth is in a ruinous condition, the windows broken, and many of the pews shattered. There are several good families which belong to the church still. A clergyman who was supposed to have abjured the king offered to preach there. The warden, who was a rebel general, and commissary of the province, refused him, saying the doors of the church should never be opened till they could have somebody else to enter them and officiate besides those perjured villains, who had broken their oaths of allegiance, and their promises at ordination.

"The church at Newbury Port is much in the same state in which it hath been for some years past. Upon the declaration of independence, Mr. Bass was persuaded to leave out the prayer for the king, &c. By this compliance he expected to make great

acquisitions to his flock, but he was disappointed. For this indeed, his people have greatly increased his salary, but he hath by it lowered himself in the esteem even of the rebels themselves. There is scarcely one loyal person in that rebellious town.

“At Salem, Macgillcrist’s parish hath dwindled away almost to nothing. He is very much broken by years and infirmities, and especially by the ill treatment of those from whom he had reason to expect, at least, the common offices of humanity. For the rebels, after having made an ineffectual attempt to starve him into compliance with their humours, now have some compassion for his grey hairs, and suffer him to remain unmolested. The rebels at Marblehead made the same trial to bring me to their terms, but it proved abortive. My secret friends are more powerful than my open enemies.

“Mr. Sergeant’s parish at Cambridge is wholly broken up. The elegant houses of those gentlemen who once belonged to it are now occupied by the rebels, and Mr. Inman, a man of fortune and figure, is now obliged to purchase things from his own farm at Cambridge. The rebels have taken everything from him except his wearing apparel, only because he had been one of the king’s council in that province.

“I have not the happiness to know any of the people at Marshfield and Scituate; but, though at the distance of fifty miles, I have received privately many tokens of their esteem, which they never would have sent me had they not been loyal in their hearts, and had they not sincerely approved my conduct. Truth constrains me to say, that the conduct of the loyalists in that country resembles that of the primitive Christians towards their brethren suffering persecution. They have all things, if I may so say, in common, and they are ready to suffer and die for each other.

“Mr. Fayerweather, having an excellent glebe of 100 acres, and having no family, meets with no difficulty in living. His parish, being small, never contributed anything to his subsistence.

“Mr. Clark, of Dedham, on account of his health, got liberty of the rebels to go to Newport. He is excessively deaf, so that he cannot perform divine service. Some refugees and inhabitants of Newport had subscribed about 30*l.* sterling for his present support. Though he has no family but a wife, yet he is in great

need, and merits compassion from all. He was taken up last year, and tried at the same time I was, and his lawyer deceiving him, by going out of town when he ought to have been in court, he was, without the least colour of evidence against him, condemned, and confined for some time on board of the guard ship, by which his health was much injured, and his voice so affected that he can scarcely be understood.

“The church of Marblehead before these unhappy times was large. Almost all the young people of any note in the town flocked to it; and there was no testimony of their love and esteem which they were not ready to give me. It grew up under my ministry to a very flourishing state, but the breath of rebellion made it wither away in a very strange manner. Some, terrified by the threats of the rebels, were afraid to attend it, and others, growing disaffected to government, spontaneously left it. There were only about fifty families on whose fidelity I could rely, as they were still attached to our constitution both in church and state. For near a year after independence was declared by the Congress, they generally attended divine service in the church, where I constantly used the Liturgy till the General Assembly made a law against it, when it was judged best for me to desist. Mr. Macgilcrist shut up his church at the same time. After this I frequently visited my flock from house to house, instructed their children, comforted them under their troubles, and endeavoured to encourage them in their religion and loyalty.

“Trinity Church, in Boston, is still open, the prayers for the king and royal family, &c. being omitted. The king’s chapel is made use of as a meeting-house by a dissenting congregation. The French had received leave from the Congress to make use of Christ Church for the purpose of their worship; but the proprietors having notice of this, persuaded Mr. Parker to preach in it every Sunday in the afternoon, by which means it remains untouched.

“In a word, our ecclesiastical affairs wear a very gloomy aspect at present in that part of the world.”¹

The Rev. Ranna Cossit is the only other witness whom

¹ Original Letters, vol. xviii. l. 260.

we shall cite to the deplorable position of affairs in New England. He says:—

“New York, Jan. 6, 1779.

“I arrived in this city last Sunday, by permission, with a flag, and am to return in a few days I trust the Society cannot be unacquainted with the persecutions the loyalists have endured in New England. I have been by the committee confined as prisoner, in the town Claremont, ever since the 12th of April, 1775; yet God has preserved my life from the rage of the people. I have constantly kept up public service, without any omissions, for the king and royal family, and likewise made use of the prayer for the high court of parliament, and the prayer to be used in time of war and tumults; have administered the Lord’s Supper on every first Sunday in the month, except two Sundays that we could not procure any wine. The numbers of my parishioners and communicants in Claremont are increased, but I have been cruelly distressed with fines for refusing entirely to fight against the king. In sundry places where I used to officiate, the church people are all dwindled away. Some have fled to the king’s army for protection; some were banished; and many dead.”

We may safely conclude this chapter in the words of the Rev. Dr. Jarvis of Middletown, the learned author of a “Chronological Introduction to the History of the Church,” to whom we are indebted for some interesting anecdotes of the New England Clergy. He says, “No one in England can know how much these Missionaries had to endure for the sake of Christ and His Church. They were confessors, if not martyrs.”

CHAPTER XI.

EARLY MISSIONS TO THE INDIANS AND NEGROES.

State of Religion among the Indians in New England—Memorials of the Earl of Bellamont and Mr. Livingstone—Appointment of the Rev. Thoroughgood Moor—Mission unsuccessful—Embassy of four Sachems to England—Rev. William Andrews—Habits of the Indians—Instruction of the Negroes—Mr. Elias Neau—Rev. R. Charlton—Rev. S. Auchmuty.

BEFORE proceeding to give an account of the efforts made by the Society for the conversion of the native North American tribes, it may be as well to cite the following extracts from a letter addressed to Sir William Ashurst, Governor of the Corporation for Propagating the Gospel in New England, on the “state of Christianity among the Christianized Indians” in that province. This document is dated 2nd of March, 1705, and is signed by the well-known names of “Increase Mather, Cotton Mather, and Nehemiah Walker.”

“There were in the southern parts of this province, about four or five years ago (when your Commissioners here sent a couple of English Ministers, who were masters of the Indian tongue, to visit them) no less than thirty several congregations of Indians, who commonly assembled themselves every Lord’s day, and, a great part of them, to lectures on other days also, for the worship of the great God and our Lord Jesus Christ. We cannot understand that the number of the congregations is considerably altered from

what it was when the gentlemen who then examined their condition brought in that report of them. Indeed, the number of Indians in this land is not comparable to what it was fifty years ago. The hand of God has very strangely wasted them; and the war which they began upon the English in the year 1675, hastened a strange desolation upon whole nations of them. Almost all that remain under the influence of the English, in this Massachusetts province, are so far christianized as that they believe there is a God, and that Jesus Christ is the Son of God, and the Saviour of the world. Mr. Experience Mahew, who is grandson to the old gentleman that first instructed the Indians on Martha's vineyard, and, like his grandfather, a laborious teacher amongst them, informs us, that there are about one hundred and fourscore families of Indians on that island; and that of these, there are no more than two persons which now remain in their Paganism. He is, at this time, gathering another church of Indians, whereof he is himself to be the pastor.

"In the Indian congregations, there were at the time of our last visitation (which we said was about four or five years ago) about thirty-seven Indians who were the constant preachers of the gospel unto them in their own language, in which they have Catechisms, and Bibles, and Psalm Books, and other books of piety translated by the vast labours of worthy Englishmen.

"Besides these, there are seven or eight English Ministers, who have learned the Indian tongue, and visit the Indian assemblies, and pray and preach among them, and give such directions as they see needful for their affairs. The Indian Ministers very frequently apply themselves to these English ones for their advice about instructing the flocks under their charge: and some of the English preachers do constantly spend every Lord's day with the Indian assemblies, having taken the charge of them.

"How the ordinary congregations among the Indians are inclined, and how instructed, may be a little apprehended from some lines in a letter now lying before us, dated not many weeks ago, from a very valuable servant of God, namely, Mr. Samuel Danforth; he says, 'They met me at Little Compton, about two months since, to hear me preach. Had you been there with me to see how well they filled up the seats, with what gravity they

behaved themselves, what attention they gave, what affection they showed; how powerfully Pawquachoise (an Indian) prayed (for I put him upon it to pray, having never before heard him pray, and being willing to have some trial of his ability in order to his approbation for office); how melodiously Jonathan George (another Indian) set the tune for the psalms, and carried it out; and how dexterously the young lads of twelve years old could turn to the proofs throughout the sermon; and how thankful they were to me at the last that I would take so much pains as to come so far from home to preach to them, I am sure you would be much affected with it.'

"Though there are some congregations of the Indians which are not advanced unto all the privileges of the evangelical church state, combining for and enjoying of all special ordinances, yet a considerable number of them are so. Some new churches have been lately formed and filled, and more will quickly be gathered. They have pastors and elders of their own, ordained sometimes by the hands of English Ministers, and sometimes by the hands of Indian Ministers in the presence of the English, all after the solemn English manner; and by admonitions and excommunications publicly dispensed, they proceed against scandalous offenders when any such are found amongst them.

"We shall here insert an extract of a late letter from Mr. Josiah Torry, a hopeful young man, who had learned the Indian tongue, and begun to preach to them in their own language: he having been an eye-witness of their proceedings, writes to us in words following:—

"'The gravity and diligent attendance in the time of worship, with the affectionate confessions of such as are admitted into the church, make me hope that many of them may have the Spirit wrought in them, according to the working of the mighty power of God. Their method respecting those that are admitted into their church communion is more according to the manner of the churches in the primitive times, than is now practised among the churches in most parts. The person to be admitted stands forth in the midst of the assembly, and first makes declaration of his knowledge, and sometimes desires information in things more arduous and doubtful. And then he makes confession of sins,

which they do (as I have seen) with tears of trembling, like him in the sixteenth chapter of the Acts. And then he gives an account of experience he has had, of convictions, awakenings, and comforts, in which they are large and particular. After which, (much comfort and exhortations to remain stedfast in the faith and ways of the Lord being given them by their pastor and elder,) they are admitted. I would, and not ungroundedly, hope that additions are made unto the church daily of such as shall be saved. There are many which maintain a Christian conversation, and are to be accounted not almost, but altogether Christians. And this does encourage the preaching of the Gospel to them, when we see it pleases God to make it his power unto salvation.'

"About the manner of performing the more stated exercises of religion in public among the Indians, there needs no account but this. They are conformed unto the English.

"But we have now before us a letter very lately received, from as knowing and as faithful a person as could be inquired of, wherein he speaks a little more particularly.

"He says, 'You may remember that yourself, with some others, were pleased once to bear me company to a lecture to Assawanpset, and were an eye-witness of their grave, serious, attentive deportment in their exercises, and of their excellent singing of psalms with most ravishing melody. They begin their exercises with prayer; they sing a psalm, they preach, and so conclude with prayer. The administration of Sacraments among them is like ours, and as they were taught by their apostle Eliot. His name is of wonderful authority among them; and the rules he gave them for the form of marriages among them, and for admonitions and excommunications in their Churches, are not to be found fault with by any but it will provoke them. Not long since, an Indian lodged at an Englishman's house one night, and the next day he visited me, and asked why the man at whose house he lodged did not pray in his family? Seeing that Mr. Eliot taught the Indians to do it every day, morning and evening, he thought it strange that the English should direct them to pray in their families, and yet not to do it themselves. But, at last, he entertained the distinction, that there were 'matchet' Englishmen as well as 'matchet' Indians, and that some English did not

practise as they had been taught to do ; matchet, that is to say, naughty or wicked.'"¹

That much good was effected among the Indians by men like Eliot, we are not at liberty to doubt ; and yet it would be unsafe to accept the testimony of writers such as those we have quoted, without balancing it with the very different statement of others. Thus Mr. Elias Neau, a catechist who was sent out specially for the instruction of the Indians and Negroes, and who laboured most devotedly amongst them, says, "I have been nineteen years in this country ; I have seen the Indians of New England, and formerly I knew Mr. Eliot, who took much pains with them ; but I never see any of them that were true converts, although these gentlemen boast of the conquest that they have made over souls ; but must needs say, that if the purity of manners be not joined with that of doctrine, I have no good opinion of such professors of Christianity."²

One truth is sufficiently obvious—that difficulties of the most formidable kind opposed themselves to the Missionary's efforts. The native tribes inhabited a wild and almost impracticable country ; their occupation was hunting, in which they were frequently engaged for weeks together ; they had the greatest aversion to settled agricultural pursuits, and could never be brought to live together in villages ; and consequently the Missionary had but few and unfavourable opportunities of instructing them in the truths of religion. But over and above all these obstacles in his path, his arguments in favour of Christianity were neutralized by the scandalous lives of white men and Christians. "If such be the fruits of your religion, why," asked the poor Indian, "should we prefer it to our own?"

¹ Appendix to Journal, p. 64.

² MS. Letters, vol. ii. p. 125.

What follows, however, may serve to show both to what extent the aborigines desired Christian instruction, and how far they profited by it.

In the year 1700, the Earl of Bellamont, Governor of New York, memorialized the Lords of Trade and Plantations on the want of some "ministers of the Church of England to instruct the five nations of Indians, and to prevent their being practised upon by French priests and Jesuits;" whereupon the said lords submitted a representation on the subject to Queen Anne, who, by an order in council, sanctioned their proposal for the appointment of two Clergymen, and referred the accomplishment of the plan to the Archbishop of Canterbury.

The Society also received a similar memorial from Robert Livingstone, Esq., Secretary for Indian affairs in the province of New York, testifying to the great desire entertained by the Indian tribes settled in the neighbourhood of Albany, to have Missionaries to instruct them in the Christian faith. In this document, also, allusion is made to the great and persevering efforts which had been made by the French Jesuits to convert the Indians to their faith, and the credit and advantage which would accrue to Great Britain, if the tribes could be brought within the pale of the English Church, and thus attached to English interests. For the attainment of this object, Mr. Livingstone recommended that six Clergymen, one for each nation, should be sent to reside among them; that two young men should be attached to each Mission, for the purpose of rendering various small services to the natives, and instructing them in European arts; and that a chapel should be built for the purpose of Divine worship.¹

¹ Appendix to Journal, p. 28.

Although the measure, as far as the government was concerned, appears to have been suggested by motives of political expediency, quite as much as by a desire for the conversion of benighted savages, the Society, at the call of its president, took advantage of the opportunity to establish a Mission amongst the Iroquois Indians. The Rev. Thoroughgood Moor arrived at New York on this noble service in the year 1704.

He does not appear to have met with any marked success. The Indians to whom he was sent were unprepared to profit by his instructions, and ingenious in finding excuses for not going to hear him. Disheartened, as it would appear, at the little progress which he made, Mr. Moor embarked for England, after about three years' residence in America. It is supposed that he was drowned at sea; for neither himself nor the vessel in which he sailed was ever heard of afterwards. One incident of his history deserves record, as showing both the arbitrary conduct of a governor frequently spoken of in high terms for the support he afforded to the Church, and also the grievances to which the Clergy were subjected for want of episcopal protection. On some charge of irregularity, Mr. Moor was summoned by Lord Cornbury from Burlington to New York, and, on his declining to obey what appeared to be an illegal warrant, was arrested by order of the governor, and imprisoned in Fort Anne. The administration of the Holy Communion once a fortnight—a frequency which the Governor had endeavoured, but in vain, to prevent—was the supposed ground of offence. Mr. Moor concludes his account with these words: “I can’t forbear making an humble proposal to the Society, which is, that they would be pleased to use their interest with her Majesty, in order to their obtaining leave for the recommending proper

persons to be governors of these parts; men of good morals, if not of true religion. But, alas! why not the latter?"¹

In 1709, four Sachems, or chiefs, came to England to confirm the peace which had been made by their nations with the Governor of New York; and to request that her Majesty would be pleased to take measures for the instruction of their subjects in the truths of Christianity.

This request having been submitted by the Archbishop of Canterbury to the Society, it was agreed to send two Missionaries, together with an interpreter and school-master, to the Mohawk and Oneida Indians; and the Queen gave directions for the erection of a fort, with a chapel and house for the clergyman, in the country of the Mohawks.

The Rev. William Andrews, the first Missionary selected, arrived at Albany in 1712; and in giving an account of his reception, he says, "When we came near the town, we saw the Indians upon the banks, looking out for my coming. When I came ashore, they received me with abundance of joy; every one shaking me by the hand, bidding me welcome over and over."² After some further account of his proceedings, he gives the following particulars as to the customs and mode of living of the Indians:—"The number of adults of this nation is about 260. They have a great many children. There are seldom above half of the Indians at home together, but always going and coming; their chief town or castle, as it is called, stands by the fort, consisting of forty or fifty wigwams, or houses, palisaded round. . . Their houses are made of mats and bark of trees, together with

¹ MS. Letters, vol. iv. p. 53.

² MS. Letters, vol. viii p. 143.

poles about three or four yards high. Their clothing is a match-coat, like a mantle, either a blanket or a bear's skin; their bed is a mat or a skin; they paint and grease themselves much with bear's fat clarified, cut the hair off from one side of their heads, and some of that on the other they tie up in knots upon the crown with feathers. . . The men are slothful and lazy enough; the women laborious, true servants to their husbands; carry all the burdens; fetch home out of the woods the venison their husbands kill, the wood they burn; carry the children about on their backs; hoe the ground; plant the corn; wait upon their husbands when they eat, and take what they leave them; yet, for all this, they say the women court the men when they design marriage."¹

In a subsequent letter he paints the serious inconveniences of a residence in that country: "There is no manner of pleasure to be proposed by living here, but only the hopes of doing some good among these poor, dark, ignorant creatures; for, in the winter season, for four or five months we can scarce stir abroad, by the reason of the extreme coldness of the weather and deep snows; and in the summer [we are] tormented with flies and musquitoes, and cannot stir abroad without being in danger of being stung with the snakes, here are so many of them. In the next place, the transporting of provisions to this place is very chargeable; the nearest towns to us of Christian inhabitants, where we buy what we want, are Shenectady and Albany—the one about twenty-four, the other about forty-four miles; the road by land for the most part is a small, rough Indian path through the woods, where we cannot ride without a great deal of danger, by reason of

¹ MS. Letters, vol. v. p. 147.

the foulness of the road with fallen trees, roots, stones, high hills, and swamps.”¹

In 1715, that is, about three years after his arrival, he had twenty children pretty constantly at school, but acknowledges that they were principally induced to attend by the food which he distributed to them. “Victuals is a great motive with them; for the Indians are very poor, and fare hard.” The ordinary attendants at church were from sixty to seventy, and as many as 150 when the great body of them were at home. The number of communicants altogether was thirty-eight.²

If Mr. Andrews be a fair and competent witness as to the character of the Indians in his times, they were far from deserving the praise that is sometimes lavished upon them. He describes them as both treacherous and cruel. He says, “There is no trusting bad Indians; for they, having no laws among them, make no more to kill a man, if they have opportunity, to get a coat or a shirt, than to kill a dog, and eat him when they have done; for it is common among most of the Indians not only to eat dogs, horses, or any carrion in the world, but man’s flesh.”³ They were constantly begging, and were so much addicted to drunkenness, that it was almost impossible to make any moral impression on them.

So far, indeed, was Mr. Andrews from claiming any credit for his labours among them, that he writes thus to the Society in 1718:—“Their lives are generally such as leave little or no room for hopes of ever making them any better than they are—heathens. Heathens they are, and heathens they will still be. There are a few, and but a few, perhaps about fourteen or fifteen, whose lives

¹ MS. Letters, vol. viii. p. 185.

² Ibid. p. 190.

³ Ibid. vol. xi. p. 328.

are more regular than the rest." They showed no devotion in church, where they came to get a dinner, and slept most of the time. They frequently spent the Sunday in a hunting excursion. He sums up his description of their character in the following words:—"They are a sordid, mercenary, beggarly people, having but little sense of religion, honour, or goodness among them; living generally filthy, brutish lives: they are of an inhuman, savage nature; kill and eat one another."¹ And in another letter, dated six months later, he states, "that though he had been by the death-beds of several among them, he did not remember to have seen any one of them that he could think penitent."²

He accordingly entreated the Society to remove him from his Mission, as all his labours in it for the improvement of the Indians were ineffectual. They would neither accept the ordinances of religion themselves, nor send their children to school. The Society was, for a long time, unwilling to listen to so discouraging a report; but as, upon inquiry, it was found to be confirmed by others, Mr. Andrews was allowed to resign, almost in despair, a Mission which he had undertaken with very different feelings and expectations. At a subsequent period, as will appear in the ensuing chapter, the Missionaries at Albany give a very different account of their labours and success among the Mohawks.

But there was another class of men who seemed to have a stronger claim upon the Society than even the native inhabitants: these were the poor negroes, who had been cruelly torn from their own country to be the bondmen of,

¹ MS. Letters, vol. xiii. p. 323.

² Ibid. p. 333.

too frequently, selfish and unfeeling masters. They were employed either in the cultivation of the fields, or in domestic drudgery; and were talked of and treated as creatures who had no souls.

The attention, then, of the Society was, from the first, steadfastly directed to the amelioration of the condition of these unfortunate men. Directions were given to the several Missionaries to promote their instruction, and to persuade their masters to send them at stated times to be catechised and prepared for baptism. This, however, was no easy task. The masters could not spare them from their task-work, or the distance was inconveniently great. These were the plausible objections; but the real obstacle was to be found in the unwillingness of the master to have his slaves taught; partly from a vague apprehension of the effects of education, and partly from an ignorant notion that slaves became free by baptism. The actual condition of the negro population in New York was brought forcibly under the notice of the Society by Mr. Elias Neau, a trader in that city, whose evidence about the Indians has been already quoted. Mr. Neau was a Frenchman, who had embraced the reformed religion, and had suffered in consequence several years' confinement in prison and in the galleys. During this time, "I had learned," he says, "part of the Liturgy by heart in my dungeons, and ever since that time I have had both affection and esteem for the divine service as it is used in the Church of England. Nevertheless, I would not condemn all those who are not conformable thereunto; I leave that judgment to God."¹

It was determined, therefore, to appoint a catechist, whose exclusive business should be the instruction of the

¹ MS. Letters, vol. ii. p. 67.

negro slaves ; and Mr. Neau, being strongly recommended for this office, was appointed in the year 1704. There were at that time about 1500 negro and Indian slaves in the city. Mr. Neau began by visiting them from house to house : but afterwards got leave for them to come to his own residence.

In 1708, the number of his catechumens had risen to more than 200, and was increasing every day. One of them remarked to him, “ The gentlemen in England who pay you to instruct us must be excellent men, since their charity is extended to poor creatures like us, whom they have never seen.” Some, it appears, were afraid to continue their attendance, because, when they asked permission of their masters to be baptized, they were threatened with being sold into Virginia, or sent away into the country, if they went any more to school.

Mr. Neau states, 27th February, 1708-9, in reply to inquiries from the Society, that the arrest and imprisonment of Mr. Moor were occasioned by that Missionary’s faithful denunciation of the profligate habits of the Governor. Among other scandalous practices, it seems that Lord Cornbury was accustomed to dress himself in women’s clothes, and so publicly exhibit himself on the ramparts of the town. For this Mr. Moor openly declared that he deserved to be excommunicated ; and did, in point of fact, refuse to administer the holy communion, at Burlington, to the lieutenant-governor, in consequence of the debaucheries and profane swearing to which he was addicted.¹

Mr. Moor contrived to make his escape after a short imprisonment ; and Mr. Brooke, for whom the same fate was intended, for taking his friend’s part, was fortunate

¹ MS. Letters, vol. iv. p. 121.

enough to avoid an arrest by suddenly returning to England.

Mr. Neau gives the following account of his mode of catechising. He could never muster his scholars till candlelight in summer or winter, except on Sundays, when they came after the last service of the church. He says, “Je commence par la prière, et à mon exemple tous se mettent à genoux: ce sont de prières publiques de l’église que j’ai choisi, afin de les leur apprendre par cœur.” After their lesson, which commonly occupied about two hours, they concluded with singing a psalm, and the evening prayer, in which an invocation of blessing on the Society’s labours was always introduced. “Vous jugez bien, Monsieur, que je n’oublie pas leurs bienfaiteurs, et que j’en ai fait un article dans les prières, et souvent dans mes discours je leur fais voir l’obligation qu’ils ont à Messieurs de l’illustre Société, pour les exciter à la reconnoissance.”¹

It was the practice of Mr. Neau to take his catechumens to the Rev. Mr. Vesey for baptism, from time to time, as he considered them sufficiently prepared to receive that holy sacrament. The useful course of his labours was interrupted, in 1712, by an insurrection of the negroes in the city of New York, which, though soon put down, created a strong prejudice against the school, which the masters well knew how to turn to account. On the trial, however, of the conspirators, it appeared that but one of all Mr. Neau’s scholars, and that one unbaptized, was concerned in the plot. But more than this, it was found that the negroes who were most guilty were the slaves of those masters who were strongly opposed to their Christian education.

¹ MS. Letters, vol. iv. p. 155.

Governor Hunter afterwards publicly declared his approbation of the school; and, in a proclamation, recommended the clergy to exhort their several congregations to promote the instruction of the negroes.¹

The long and consistent service of the Rev. R. Charlton in the same humble but important office of Catechist to the Negroes, first at New Windsor, and afterwards at New York, demands a brief notice. He was in the habit of publicly every Sunday teaching and explaining the Church Catechism, and was reported by Mr. Vesey to have given great satisfaction to the people, and to have “crowned all with a good life.” From his appointment at New York, in 1732, to 1740, he had baptized 219 negroes, of whom 24 were adults. The next year he had 70 negro and 90 white catechumens. In 1746, their number had considerably increased; and he “could plainly discover a truly pious spirit among them.” In 1747, he was promoted by the Society to the church of St. Andrew, in Staten Island, and was succeeded by the Rev. Samuel Auchmuty, who had been educated at Harvard College, Cambridge, and recently ordained deacon.² A school was soon afterwards built by voluntary contributions, in which fifty children were educated by Mr. Hildreth; and successive reports of the Catechist mention the increasing number of his baptisms, amounting at last to about one hundred, including infants and adults, yearly. In 1764, he reports that “not a single black admitted by him to the holy communion had turned out badly, or in any way disgraced his profession.”³ These few facts may serve to show that the Society was neither forgetful of its duty to the poor African race, nor an unsuccessful labourer in the cause of their amelioration.

¹ Humphreys' Hist. Account, p. 242.

² Journal, vol. vii. p. 79.

³ Report for 1765.

CHAPTER XII.

NEW YORK.

First discovery by Hudson—And settlement by the Dutch—Captured by the English in 1664—Area—Present population and number of Clergy—First Church and Clergyman—Rev. W. Vesey—Rev. John Bartow—M. Bondet—M. Stoupe—Rev. H. Barclay—Rev. G. Muirson—Rev. John Miln—Mr. Barclay, Jun.—Rev. John Ogilvie—The Mohawks—Mr. St. George Talbot—Convention at Ripton, Connecticut—Sir W. Johnson.

THE sea-board of this province was first explored about the year 1609, by Henry Hudson, a native of Holland, whose name has become memorable by having been given to the noble river of the Northern States, and to the well-known bay, both of which he discovered. In the following year a few Dutch stations were formed, and in 1620 a settlement was made on a larger scale, when the district was called New Netherlands; and the principal eluster of houses, on the site of a town which now contains a quarter of a million inhabitants, was named New Amsterdam. A perfect toleration for all religious opinions was guaranteed, and the new colony became a refuge for the persecuted Protestants of many European countries, France, Belgium, Germany, Bohemia, and Piedmont.¹

In the reign of Charles II., 1664, and during the war with Holland, this province was taken possession of by the

¹ The United States of America, by Hugh Murray, vol. i. p. 285.

English, and, being granted to the Duke of York, received the name which it has since borne.

Though but one of the States of Independent America, the area of New York is nearly equal to that of England, and the population is hardly short of two millions and a half, a number far exceeding the entire population of our present North American colonies. The number of Clergy at this time, in the two dioceses, is about 300.

Such has been the growth of the province in a period of two centuries. We have now to go back a hundred and fifty years, to the time when the Society first commenced its operations. The population then consisted of a few thousands—scattered along the coasts, and the banks of the Hudson—a population of different races, and various forms of religion. Till the year 1693, when Governor Fletcher procured an Act of Assembly for settling and maintaining a Ministry, there seems to have been “no face of the Church of England” in the colony. The choice of a Clergyman was lodged in the vestry, who, after having built a church, offered the appointment of Rector to Mr. Vesey, a gentleman well known and generally esteemed in the city, provided he should be admitted to Holy Orders. Mr. Vesey accordingly went to England and was ordained, and his whole subsequent life fully justified the choice which had been made of him. For fifty years he continued to discharge the duties of Rector of Trinity Church, and for a great part of that time was entrusted with the general ecclesiastical oversight of the Church in that colony, as Bishop of London’s Commissary. But, as he was not a Missionary of the Society, we must content ourselves with this brief notice of him.

The Rev. John Bartow was appointed Missionary, on an annual salary of 50*l.* in the year 1702. He arrived in

New York in ten weeks, during the prevalence of a very fatal sickness, of which twenty persons, on the average, died every day for some months. He was fixed at West Chester by the Governor, Lord Cornbury; but found the glebe of 100 acres "all a wilderness," no part of which had ever been cultivated. He says, Nov. 4, 1702, "We have a small house built here for public worship, of boards, but there is neither desk, pulpit, nor bell in it."¹

At the end of two years, he speaks with thankfulness of having, "by the blessing of Almighty God, been made instrumental in making many proselytes to our holy religion, who are very constant and devout in, and at, their attendance on Divine service; and those who were enemies at my first coming are now zealous professors of the ordinances of our Church. The inhabitants of our parish live scattered and disposed up and down in the woods, so that many cannot repair constantly to the church, by reason of their great distance from it."²

Mr. Bartow appears, by his letters, to have been in the habit of making collections in his church for any very urgent cases of distress. Thus we have the following notices: "September 5, 1708, came a distressed woman, the widow Maynard, through West Chester, who had nine children murdered by the Indians. Collected for her in the church, 11s. 6d." The following Sunday he made a similar collection for a poor man.

Besides West Chester, at which he resided, Mr. Bartow officiated once a month at East Chester, and occasionally at Yonkers. The population of West Chester was about 550; that of East Chester 400, who, being presbyterians, obtained an Act by which they were formed into a separate parish, and obtained a Minister of their own persuasion;

¹ MS. Letters, vol. i. l. 55.

² Ibid. vol. ii. l. 32.

but on Mr. Bartow's coming among them, "they were so well satisfied with the liturgy and doctrine of the Church, that they forsook their Minister," and conformed to the Church of England.¹ The population of Yonkers was, in 1703, about 250.

Mr. Bartow continued in the discharge of his important duties for the long period of a quarter of a century. He was the instrument of bringing many separatists back to the Church, and admitting into it many hitherto careless adults. He likewise gave much of his time to the instruction of the poor negroes. By such long and faithful services he secured the general esteem of his people. He died, 1727, in the Mission to which he was first sent.

Another valuable and zealous Missionary was brought to the notice of the Society, by the Rev. E. Evans, in a letter to the Bishop of London, in which he writes thus:—"Oct. 17, 1704. This comes by the hands of the ingenious Mr. George Muirson, to receive holy Orders from your lordship, by the approbation of his Excellency my Lord Cornbury. I find that he is very well beloved and esteemed by all sorts of people; a man of a very sober and blameless conversation. He seems to be endued with great humility of mind, and has the character of being very prudent in his conduct. I give him this recommendation, not to gratify himself, nor anybody else, but because I sincerely believe he may be very instrumental of doing much good in the Church."² Mr. Muirson, having been ordained, was appointed to the Mission of Rye. In his first report to the Society, he states that he had a very great congregation every Sunday, and that those were his constant hearers who never were in a Church of England congregation before. Though the people were of almost

¹ MS. Letters, vol. ix. p. 109.

² Ibid. vol. ii. l. 34.

all persuasions, he had admitted into the church by baptism eighty persons, young and old ; hundreds, however, in the parish remained unbaptized. He goes on afterwards to say, "I have lately been in the government of Connecticut, where I observe some people well affected to the Church, for those that are near come to my parish on Sabbath days ; so that I am assured an itinerant Missionary might do great services in that province. Some of their Ministers have privately told me, that, had we a Bishop among us, they would conform and receive holy Orders ; from which, as well as on all the continent, the necessity of a Bishop will plainly appear."¹

Subsequently, October, 2, 1706, he informs the Society that he had paid another visit to Connecticut ; had preached at Stratford to numerous congregations, and baptized twenty-four in one day. "There are," he adds, "some thousands of persons in that colony unbaptized, and the reason is this ; most of their Ministers refuse to admit any children into Christ's church by baptism but those whose parents are in full communion with them. The Independents threaten me, and all those that are instrumental in bringing me thither, with prison and hard usage. They are very much incensed to see that the Church (Rome's sister, as they ignorantly call her) is like to gain ground among them, and use all the stratagems they can invent to defeat my enterprises."² In these visits, and in every effort for the good of the Church, Mr. Muirson was heartily supported by Colonel Heathcote, who also wrote to the Society on the subject, confirming the account of the opposition which the Missionary had encountered ; and stating that the justices had forbidden him to preach, and even threatened to put him and all his hearers in gaol.

¹ MS. Letters, vol. ii. l. 126.

² Ibid. vol. iii. l. 1.

But he goes on to say—"Notwithstanding all their threats to some, and persuasions to others, he had a handsome congregation; and I believe, the next visit that is paid them, it will be found that their struggling to stifle the Church will be a great means to forward its growth."¹

Of his own parish, Mr. Muirson reports,—“I have baptized about 200 young and old, but most adult persons; and am in hopes of initiating many more into the Church after I have examined, taught, and find them qualified. This is a large parish; the towns are far distant; the people were some Quakers, some Anabaptists, but chiefly Presbyterians and Independents. They were violently set against our Church, but now (blessed be God!) they comply heartily; for I have now above forty communicants, and only six when I first administered that holy sacrament.”.. “I find that catechising on the week days in the remote towns, and frequent visiting, is of great service; and I am sure that I have made twice more proselytes by proceeding after that method than by public preaching.”¹

Mr. Muirson, besides his salary of 50*l.* from the Society, was entitled to 50*l.* currency, as settled by Act of Assembly on Rye parish; but as his people were poor, and for the most part recent converts, he considerably forbore to press his legal claim, and during the first two years of his Ministry had only received about ten or twelve pounds currency; thus plainly showing that he sought not theirs but them.

It is instructive, though humiliating, to learn how the same party who had left their own country in vindication of the liberty of conscience, and for a principle of religious equality, became persecutors the moment their own sect was uppermost. Mr. Muirson states, that, in a third visit

¹ MS. Letters, vol. iii. l. 86.

² Ibid. vol. iii. l. 75.

to Connecticut, one of the magistrates with some other officers, came to his lodgings to inform him that theirs was a chartered government; that he had acted illegally in coming among them to establish a new way of worship; and to forewarn him against preaching any more. This he did by citing one of their laws, intituled Ecclesiastical, in which were these words: "Be it enacted by the Governor, Council, and Representatives, convened in General Assembly, that there shall be no Ministry or Church administration entertained or attended by the inhabitants of any town or plantation in this colony, distinct and separate from, and in opposition to that which is openly and publicly observed and dispensed by the approved Ministers of the place." When he was invited to perform Divine service in the house of a private gentleman, the Independents refused him "the liberty of ringing the bell or beating a drum to give the people notice." But not content with denying to Churchmen the same liberty of worship which they affected to prize so dearly themselves, they compelled the members of the Church to contribute to the support of Independent ministers, and levied distresses upon their estates. "By these and such like intolerable oppressions," he says, "the people are disabled to contribute to the support of a Church of England minister, and therefore have petitioned home that one may be sent with a sufficient maintenance from the honourable corporation. He had need be a man very prudent in conduct and exemplary in life and conversation; for (being the first) the advancement of the Church, in after ages, depends in a great measure upon his good behaviour, for the people generally judge a man's principles by his life."¹

¹ MS. Letters, vol. iii. l. 76.

The following account of the Indians, written in the year 1708, will be thought interesting:—

“As to the Indians, the natives of the country, they are a decaying people. We have not now in all this parish twenty families, whereas not many years ago there were several hundreds. I have frequently conversed with some of them, and been at their great meetings of ‘pawawing,’ as they call it. I have taken some pains to teach some of them, but to no purpose, for they seem regardless of instruction; and when I have told them of the evil consequences of their hard drinking, &c., they replied that Englishmen do the same, and that it is not so great a sin in an Indian as in an Englishman, because the Englishman’s religion forbids it, but an Indian’s does not. They further say they will not be Christians, nor do they see the necessity for so being, because we do not live according to the precepts of our holy religion.

“In such ways do most of the Indians that I have conversed with, either here or elsewhere, express themselves. I am heartily sorry that we should give them such a bad example, and fill their mouths with such objections to our blessed religion.”¹

He mentions in this letter that they had completed the house of God at Rye, by the subscriptions of the inhabitants; “a stately structure indeed.”

In alluding to the arbitrary conduct of the governor in arresting the Rev. Messrs. Moor and Brooke, “two good men, who suffered for discharging their office,” he takes occasion to show the great need they had of a Bishop, and prays God “to put it into the hearts of his superiors at home to send them a head to bless and protect the whole.” Mr. Muirson, after a short but a most useful service in the ministry of the Church, died in October, 1708, “much lamented by his friends and missed by his parishioners.”

¹ MS. Letters, vol. iii. l. 168.

New Rochelle was a settlement of French protestants, of whom M. Bondet was the pastor. In 1709, the congregation conformed to the Church of England, and the Society made an allowance to M. Bondet, with instructions to use the liturgy of our Church. He had a considerable congregation, among whom he lived and ministered upwards of twenty years. The town gave a house and three acres of land, adjoining the church, for the use of the clergyman for ever; and M. Bondet, at his death, in 1722, bequeathed his library, consisting of 400 volumes, for the same purpose.

He was succeeded by Mr. Stoupe, who also was able to officiate in French, a simple-minded, conscientious man, who continued, for seven-and-thirty years, patiently and faithfully to discharge the duties of this Mission. During this long incumbency the number of communicants was raised from thirty-three to eighty.

Albany was principally settled by the Dutch, and from its situation on the river Hudson, and its being the chief place of trade with the Indians, early became an important town. The population, in 1712, was computed at 4,000, of which 450 were negroes, or Indian slaves. It was defended by a strong fort, and a garrison of 200 men, for the security of the province, both against the French and the Indians. To this station the Society appointed the Rev. Henry Barclay, as Missionary and Catechist, with a view not less to the spiritual benefit of the resident English, than to the instruction and conversion of the Indians and the negroes.

During the absence of the Dutch minister, Mr. Dellius, several of his congregation attended the English church, where Mr. Barclay preached to them in their own language; and many of the principal inhabitants, and still more of

the common people, were led to join the communion of the church of England. Mr. Barclay was in the habit of publicly catechising the children in church, during the afternoon service, on Sundays, besides twice a-week on other days; and his class usually consisted of about seventy children.

After officiating for seven years in the Dutch chapel, he took measures for the erection of a church. In this design he was assisted most generously by persons of every class. The governor, Robert Hunter, Esq., besides a money subscription, gave all the stone and lime required for the building. The town of Albany contributed 200%, and every inhabitant of Schenectady, with the single exception of one very poor man, gave something, which in all amounted to 50% currency, while both the officers and privates of the garrison subscribed in proportion to their means. In this way a sum of 600% was raised, and a solid building of stone erected, which was opened for Divine service in November 1716.¹

The next Missionary at this station was the Rev. John Miln. On his first arrival he states that the number of communicants was thirty-four. His plan was to visit the Mohawks four times a-year, and to remain five days with them at each visit. The commanding officer of the garrison wrote to the Society, in 1731, that Mr. Miln had taken indefatigable pains in instructing the Indians in the principles of the Christian religion; and, in 1735, he repeated and confirmed his favourable testimony, stating, "that the Indians were very much civilized of late, which he imputed to the industry and pains of the Rev. John Miln; that he was very diligent in baptizing both children and adults; and that the number of the communicants

¹ Humphreys' Hist. Account, p. 217.

was daily increasing." The same authority added, that "many of the Indians are become very orderly, and observe the Sabbath."¹

In the same year Mr. Henry Barclay, son of the late Missionary, who had been four years at the college of Newhaven, was, by Mr. Miln's recommendation, appointed catechist to the Mohawks at Fort Hunter. On his first arrival, he represented the prospects of converting that tribe as very encouraging. They were desirous of instruction, and constantly attended Divine service.

In 1737, Mr. Miln was transferred, at his own request, to the Mission of Monmouth county, and Mr. Barclay, being strongly recommended by all to whom he had become known in the discharge of his duty as a catechist, was sent for to England, and ordained deacon and priest. On his return, he was welcomed with hearty good will by "both his congregations, but more especially by the poor Indians, who many of them shed tears of joy."² Besides his services on the Sunday, he catechised the Indians in the evenings, when thirty, forty, and sometimes fifty adults would attend. On occasion of the gathering of the Six Nations to renew their league of friendship with the English, he preached to large numbers of them, and had the satisfaction of being understood by all the Indians, while the Mohawks behaved so devoutly, and made their responses so regularly, as to excite the admiration of all the congregation. Mr. Barclay was also frequently called upon to preach to the Dutch in their own language.

In 1741, he informed the Society that his congregation at Albany consisted of 180 English, besides two independent companies; and, in the Mohawk county, of 500 Indians, settled in two towns, at thirty miles' distance from

¹ Report for 1735.

² Ibid. 1739.

Albany; that he had 60 English, and 58 Indian communicants. He further stated, as a satisfactory test of their moral improvement, that there was a great decrease in the vice of drunkenness; not so many cases having occurred during the whole summer, as frequently occurred in a single day on his first coming among them.¹ In 1743, he informed the Society that two or three only of the whole tribe remained unbaptized, and that, with the consent of the governor, he had appointed Mohawk schoolmasters at the two towns, "Cornelius, a sachem, at the lower, and one Daniel, at the upper town, who are both very diligent, and teach the young Mohawks with surprising success."²

The very satisfactory progress which this zealous Missionary was thus enabled to make in the great work of Christianizing and civilizing the native Indians, was rudely checked towards the end of 1745, first, by the intrigues, and afterwards by the hostile invasion, of the French Indians. The following is Mr. Barclay's account of the matter:—

"About the middle of November, 1745, the French Indians came to an open rupture with us, and, with a party of French, fell upon a frontier settlement, which they laid in ashes, and made most of the inhabitants, to the number of about a hundred, prisoners; ever since which time they have kept us in a continual alarm by skulking parties, who frequently murdered and carried off the poor inhabitants, treating them in the most inhuman and barbarous manner; by which means the lately populous and flourishing county of Albany is become a wilderness, and numbers of people, who were possessed of good estates, are reduced to poverty. In the meantime, our Indians could not be prevailed upon to enter into the war, but have deceived us with fair promises from time to time, whilst we were convinced, by undeniable proofs, that they kept a correspondence with the enemy."³

¹ Report for 1742.

² Ibid. 1743.

³ Original Letters, vol. vii. l. 95.

The following year, on the death of the Rev. W. Vesey, the vestry, and principal parishioners, determined on inviting Mr. Barclay to occupy the vacant post; and he, though with some natural reluctance, yet from a conviction that, during the prevailing troubles among the Indians, he could be of no further service to them, accepted the offer. The Indian Mission remained vacant some time after his withdrawal, but was filled up, in 1748, by the appointment, on his recommendation, of the Rev. John Ogilvie, "a young gentleman of an extraordinary good character, educated at Yale college, in Connecticut;" and one who was in a special manner qualified for the duty at Albany, by being able to officiate in the Dutch language. From his first letter it appears that the Mohawks, among whom he had spent the winter, were attentive to all the observances of religion, but fell to excessive drinking on his departure; and he was convinced that the only way to make any lasting impression upon them, and reform their habits, was to receive and maintain them in hostelries prepared for their reception, where they might be instructed in the English language, and, through that medium, in the principles of the Christian faith. In successive communications, Mr. Ogilvie makes the same complaint of their excessive indulgence in strong drink, which sometimes drove them mad, to the extent of burning their huts, and threatening the lives of their wives and children.¹ They too generally spent their money in purchasing spirits, and threw themselves upon the Missionary for provision whenever they went to Albany.

On first entering upon his Mission, he selected one of their most promising boys to educate entirely at his own charge, but, as soon as he had taught him to speak English,

¹ Report for 1753.

and "read in the psalter," the parents removed him, lest, as they said, he should learn to despise his own nation: yet, in spite of all the difficulties and discouragements which he met with, Mr. Ogilvie's Mission was by no means without its fruits. In 1756, he informs the Society that many of the Mohawks of both castles appeared to have a serious and habitual sense of religion. When at home they regularly attended divine worship, and were frequent communicants at the Lord's Supper; and even while out upon the hunt, several of them came sixty miles to communicate on Christmas day.

The number of his Indian communicants was 50. In the space of eighteen months he baptized 27 Indian children, two of them the children of the famous half-Indian king, who distinguished himself so much in the fatal expedition under General Braddock, when twelve principal men of the Mohawks fell in battle. Of these twelve, six were regular communicants of the church, and, while they were in the field, good old Abraham, the catechist, (one of their own sachems, as already mentioned,) regularly performed for them morning and evening service.¹ In 1758, this tribe was involved in all the horrors of a most cruel war, by an invasion of the French Indians, who burnt their houses and carried away the families; and here it should be mentioned, to the honour of the Mohawks, and of the Society, whose converts many of them were, that they alone, of all the Indian nations, remained during this, and a subsequent war, stedfast in their loyalty to Great Britain.²

But, whatever were the blessings conferred upon the poor Indians by the charitable regard of the Society and its Missionaries, they were, it is to be feared, more than

¹ Report for 1757.

² Ibid. 1759

counterbalanced by the vices which they learned from European contact and example. The fatal use of intoxicating liquors, to them an irresistible temptation, was rapidly thinning their numbers. Mr. Ogilvie reports that, in less than six months, fifty-five persons had died within the Mohawk castle, chiefly from the effects of drinking, and more were dying. Nevertheless, he persevered steadily in his duty, and daily catechised the children.

The following passage from a letter, dated February 1, 1760, possesses historical interest, and places the zeal and liberality of the French Romanists in mortifying juxtaposition with the coldness and apathy of the British government:—

“ I attended the royal American regiment upon the expedition to Niagara; and indeed there was no other chaplain upon that department, though there were three regular regiments, and the provincial regiment of New York. The Mohawks were all upon this service, and almost all the Six Nations; they amounted in the whole to 940 at the time of the siege. I officiated constantly to the Mohawks and Oneidas, who regularly attended divine service. I gave them exhortations suitable to the emergency, and I flatter myself my presence with them contributed, in some measure, to keep up decency and order amongst them. The Oneidas met us at the lake near their castle, and, as they were acquainted with my coming, they brought ten children to receive baptism; and young women, who had been instructed in the principles of Christianity, came likewise to receive that holy ordinance. I baptized them in the presence of a numerous crowd of spectators, who all seemed pleased with the attention and serious behaviour of the Indians upon that solemn occasion; and indeed, bad as they are, I must do them the justice to say, that whenever they attend the offices of religion, it is with great appearance of solemnity and decency.

“ During this campaign I have had an opportunity of conversing with men of every one of the Six Nation confederacy and their dependents, and of every nation I find some who have been

instructed by the priests of Canada, and appear zealous Roman Catholics, extremely tenacious of the ceremonies and peculiarities of that Church; and from very good authority I am informed, that there is not a nation bordering upon the five great lakes, or the banks of the Ohio, the Mississippi, all the way to Louisiana, but what are supplied with priests and schoolmasters, and have very decent places of worship, with every splendid utensil of their religion. How ought we to blush at our coldness and shameful indifference in the propagation of our most excellent religion. The harvest truly is great, but the labourers are few. The Indians themselves are not wanting in making very pertinent reflections upon our inattention to these points.

“The possession of the important fortification of Niagara is of the utmost consequence to the English, as it gives us the happy opportunity of commencing and cultivating a friendship with those numerous tribes of Indians who inhabit the borders of Lakes Erie, Huron, Michigan, and even Lake Superior; and the fur trade, which is carried on by these tribes, which all centres at Niagara, is so very considerable, that I am told, by very able judges, that the French look upon Canada of very little importance without the possession of this important pass. It certainly is so, and must appear obvious to any one who understands the geography of this country. It cuts off and renders their communication with their southern settlements almost impracticable. In this fort there is a very handsome chapel; and the priest, who was of the order of St. Francis, had a commission as the king’s chaplain to this garrison. He had particular instructions to use the Indians who came to trade with great hospitality, (for which he had a particular allowance,) and to instruct them in the principles of the faith. The service of the church here was performed with great ceremony and parade. I performed divine service in this church every day during my stay there, but I am afraid it has never been used for this purpose since, as there is no minister of the Gospel there. This neglect will not give the Indians the most favourable impression of us.”¹

Mr. Ogilvie cannot repress a complaint that he received

¹ Original Letters, vol. xix. l. 105.

no countenance or support in his Mission from any of the leading men of the colony ; for, though they did nothing to oppose him, Sir William Johnson was the only person who lent him any active assistance. An extract from a letter, dated August 9, 1760, will prove that the operations of war did not altogether put a stop to the Missionary exertions of Mr. Ogilvie. He says—

“By this I beg leave to inform the Society, that I left Albany on the 24th of June, in order to join the army, who were proceeding under General Amherst to Oswego. I tarried at Fort Hunter three days. I preached twice during that time, and administered the sacrament of baptism to several white and Indian children. The Mohawks were preparing for the field, and told me they should overtake me near the Oneida lake, at which place a considerable number of Indians joined us. General Amherst, being at the Oneida lake on the preceding Sunday, went up as far as the Oneida town. Upon his arrival there, he found them at their worship, and expressed a vast pleasure at the decency with which the service of our church was performed by a grave Indian sachem. They applied to the General to leave directions for me to come to the castle upon my arrival at the lake.

“Agreeable to the General’s directions, I went to the Oneida town the 18th day of July. I had sent a Mohawk Indian before, so that, upon my coming into their town, I found a large congregation met for Divine service, which was performed with great solemnity. Six adults presented themselves to be examined for baptism, who all of them gave a very satisfactory account of the Christian faith, and appeared to have a serious sense of religion. I baptized them, and immediately after joined them in marriage. They were three principal men, and their wives, who had lived many years together, according to the Indian custom. I baptized fourteen children ; and, in all, I joined nine couple in the holy bands of marriage.

“I was much pleased with this day’s solemnity ; it would have been a noble subject for the pen of one of the Jesuits of Canada. I would to God we had labourers in this part of the vineyard, to

keep alive the spark that is kindled among some of these tribes, and spread the glad tidings of the Gospel among the numerous tribes with whom we have now a free communication. Besides my duty in the army, I attend the Indians, and give them prayers, as often, on week days, as the public service of the camp will admit; and on Sunday, the General always gives public orders for Divine service among the Indians.

"I hope soon to congratulate the venerable Society upon the entire conquest of Canada; and I pray God that, by that means, there may be an 'effectual door' opened for the propagation of the blessed Gospel amongst the heathén."¹

The war, as is well known, was brought to a glorious termination by the capture of Quebec, under the command of Wolfe. After congratulating the Society on this happy result, Mr. Ogilvie proceeds to say, that, during the campaign, he had been particularly careful to perform all the offices of religion among the Indians, "great numbers of whom attended constantly, regularly, and decently." He concludes thus: "I am unable to express the universal joy and triumph that prevails amongst us at this period of public success. How remarkably has God in his providence sustained the cause, and restored the honour of our country, by the successes of the past and the glorious conclusion of this year. The inhabitants of this northern region of America are now happy in the quiet possession of their estates. 'No more leading into captivity;' a captivity big with danger and horror: 'no more complaining in our streets.' May all these happy events conspire to bring about a speedy, safe, and honourable peace. May the peaceable kingdom of the Redeemer universally prevail amongst mankind, and all the world know the only true God, and Jesus Christ whom He hath sent."

¹ Original Letters, vol. xix. l. 107.

Though our record is concerned principally with the labours and services of the Clergy, it would be ungrateful not to mention the names of some of the more distinguished lay benefactors of the Church in America. Among these, Mr. St. George Talbot deserves special notice. He gave several handsome donations for the erection and endowment of churches in New York and Connecticut; and at his death, in 1767, left nearly the whole of his estate, both real and personal, to the Society. As the will, however, was disputed by the heirs-at-law, the executors, after some years spent in negotiation, agreed to accept 1,300*l.* currency, as payment in full of all demands of the Society. But Mr. Talbot shewed his good will to the Society not only by gifts of money, but by going round in company with the Missionaries to visit the several churches. In 1762, he made a tour with Mr. Dibblee, of whom he reports, that he was indefatigable in his endeavours to serve the interest of true religion and our holy Church,—“whose services I find universally acceptable, and his life agreeable to his public character.” He was surprised both at the number and devout behaviour of the people at North Castle, for the church could not contain them; but at Crompton, Peach Hills, and Croton, the state of religion, for want of a clergyman, was deplorable, and the people were left a prey “to various sectaries and enthusiastic lay-teachers,” while those who were members of the Church had not the opportunity of joining in the Liturgy for years together. In 1763, he took another journey into Connecticut, and attended the Convention at Ripton, of which he gives the following brief account:—“The Rev. Dr. Johnson, being requested to preach, delivered an excellent, pathetic, spirited sermon, adapted to the occasion, and acceptable to the Clergy and all who had the pleasure to

hear him, pressing them to the utmost fidelity and diligence in doing the duties of their respective cures. Twelve Missionaries were present, who appear to be ornaments to their ecclesiastical profession, and very usefully employed, having had the opportunity to acquaint myself with the state of most of their respective Missions. Four or five promising young gentlemen, candidates for holy orders, were present.”¹ Among these he mentions Mr. Jarvis, of Middletown, who was afterwards Bishop of Connecticut.

Another eminent upholder of the Church was Sir William Johnson, already mentioned, who zealously exerted himself for the education and conversion of the Indian tribes. He also was among the most zealous in promoting the permanent establishment of the Church in America by the endowment of an episcopate. For this purpose he conveyed to the Society 20,000 acres of land in the neighbourhood of Schenectady, and on the 10th December, 1768, wrote as follows on the subject:—“We cannot have a Clergy here without an episcopate; and this want, as it has occasioned many to embrace other persuasions, will oblige greater numbers to follow their example; of which the dissenters are very sensible, and by pretended fears of an episcopal power, as well as by magnifying their own numbers and lessening ours, give it all possible opposition.”²

¹ Original Letters, vol. xix. l. 208.

² Ibid. l. 89.

CHAPTER XIII.

NEW YORK.

Rev. Samuel Seabury, Father and Son—Rev. S. Seabury, Jun.—Report of Flushing—Of Jamaica—Effects of Quakerism—Loss of two Missionaries at sea—Promotion of Mr. Seabury to West Chester—Political troubles—Escape to Long Island—Persecution and Sufferings of the Missionaries—Rev. L. Babcock—Rev. Dr. Auchmuty—Rev. Leonard Cutting—Rev. P. Reading—Rev. John Sayre—Rev. Dr. Smith—Rev. S. Tingley—Rev. J. Leaming—Rev. John Stuart.

SEABURY is a name well known in the history of the Anglo-American Church. The first connected with the subject of our record who bore it, the Rev. Samuel Seabury, appeared before the Society on the 21st August, 1730; and, after due examination and inquiry, was appointed Missionary to New London, in Connecticut, on a salary of 50*l.* a year. It was agreed at the same time “that a library of 10*l.*, five pounds’ worth of small tracts, and one dozen of Ostervald’s Catechisms be allowed him.” The inhabitants of New London at this period were 600, of whom 100 belonged to the communion of the Church, but there were only fourteen communicants.¹ In a few years his congregation doubled, and very gratifying success attended his ministrations at some distant settlements, especially at Hebron, thirty miles off, where he was listened

¹ Journal, vol. vi. p. 19.

to with great seriousness, and more than twenty families conformed to the worship of the Church.¹ The people of this township afterwards built a chapel, and petitioned the Society for a resident Missionary. They were, however, soon after this (in 1741), seduced into the wildest extravagance by some of the ignorant and fanatical followers of Whitfield. On the removal of Dr. Jenney to Philadelphia, in 1742, Mr. Seabury was appointed to the Mission of Hempsted, in Long Island. At the time of his leaving New London the population had grown to 1000, the members of the Church to 228, and the regular communicants to 39.² It is, moreover, satisfactory to know that the Church people remained stedfast in the midst of the mad excitement of sectarians, who, on one occasion, assembled in large numbers in the public street on a Sunday, made a bonfire, and burned a great pile of books on divinity, including Bishop Beveridge's *Thoughts on Religion*.³

In 1748, Mr. Seabury informed the Society that at Huntington, a town about eighteen miles distant from Hempsted, a considerable number of people had conformed, and built a church for the worship of God according to the Liturgy of the Church of England; that he had frequently officiated there, and that, at their request, his son, who had been educated at Newhaven, read prayers and sermons for them, under his direction. Such being the case, he requested that his son, who would be recommended by the Commissary, might be appointed by the Society to be a Catechist, with some small allowance. The Society accordingly appointed Mr. Samuel Seabury, jun., to act in this capacity under the direction of his father,

¹ Journal, vol. vii. p. 79.

² Ibid. vol. ix. p. 117.

³ Ibid. p. 175.

and allowed him a salary of 10*l.* a year.¹ Such was the modest commencement of a long series of services to the Church by the future Bishop of Connecticut—the first bishop of our own communion in the wide continent of North America.

In one of his letters, the elder Seabury describes the Church at Hempsted as “truly militant,” being continually subject to attack by the enemies of revelation on one side, and wild enthusiasts on the other; nevertheless he states that his churches at Hempsted, Oyster-bay, and Huntington were crowded in fine weather.² In 1756, he paid a visit to Dutchess county, eighty miles distant, at the request of the inhabitants. The only provision which had been made for the spiritual wants of this extensive county, containing a population of 10,000, was to be found in the services of one Dutch and one Presbyterian minister, with one Quaker’s meeting. This state of things he represented to the Society, who resolved to send a Missionary there as soon as a church and residence-house had been built.³

Wherever a Clergyman was zealous in the discharge of his duty, many of those who had been educated in dissent conformed to the Church, and Mr. Seabury had the satisfaction of reporting in one year the baptism of eleven adults at Hempsted: one of them declared publicly “that it was after considering most other professions, and upon mature deliberation, that he had determined to make the solemn confession of his faith in the Church of England, and accordingly himself, his wife, and eight children were baptized.”⁴

Mr. Seabury died on the 15th June, 1764. The last “*Notitia Parochialis*” which he furnished to the Society,

¹ Journal, vol. xi. p. 91.

² Report for 1755.

³ Ibid. 1757.

⁴ Ibid. 1763.

states the population at Hempsted to be 6,000, of whom 750 were members of the Church, and about seventy communicants. The total number of baptisms since he had come into the Mission was 1,071.

We must now travel back a few years, to gather up the principal points in the history of his son. In 1753, the Society received from the Rev. J. Wetmore, Missionary at Rye, a testimonial in favour of the Rev. Samuel Seabury, jun., whom he represented as "a man of unblemished moral character, sound learning, and so prudent behaviour, that he would prove a worthy Missionary." He accordingly recommended him for the vacant cure of New Brunswick, in the colony of New Jersey. The Society, having now for some years had knowledge of him in the subordinate office of Catechist, immediately gave its sanction to his coming to England for holy orders, and his salary was then advanced to 50*l*. He arrived at his new Mission on the 25th May, 1754, and was received with "a hearty welcome" by the people. He found there a stone church nearly finished, with a large congregation, increased by the attendance of the dissenters, who were without any minister of their own. Mr. Seabury, however, remained but a short time in this Mission; for in 1757 he was promoted by the government to the living of Jamaica, to which he the more readily removed, as it brought him "nearer to a most excellent father, whom he dearly loved, and whose conversation he highly valued."

One of the stations at which he was called upon to officiate was Flushing; and this is the miserable report which he makes of it in 1759:—"Flushing, in the last generation the grand seat of Quakerism, is in this the seat of infidelity—a transition how natural! Bred up in an entire neglect of all religious principles, in hatred to the

Clergy, and in contempt of the sacraments, how hard is their conversion! Especially as they disavow the necessity of any redemption. At Jamaica," he continues, "open infidelity has not made so great a progress; a general remissness in attending Divine service, however, prevails, though I know not from what particular cause."¹

Six months later he writes in the same melancholy strain:—

"Such is the effect of deism and infidelity, (for the spreading of which Quakerism has paved the way,) which have here been propagated with the greatest zeal, and the most astonishing success, that a general indifference towards all religion has taken place; and the too common opinion seems to be, that they shall be saved without either of the Christian sacraments, without any external worship of God,—in short, without the mediation of Christ, as well as with; and even among those who profess themselves members of the Church of England, a very great backwardness in attending her service prevails, and particularly with regard to the holy sacrament of the Lord's Supper; so great is their aversion to it, or neglect of it, that I fear the number of communicants at present scarce exceeds twenty."²

After a time, however, he was enabled to report somewhat more favourably; for in October of the same year he writes, "Things are considerably mended, especially at Flushing, which has ever been the seat of Quakerism and infidelity. Many young people of both sexes have steadily attended Divine service the past summer, (whose parents are either Quakers or deists,) and behaved with great decency."³ In 1762, he informed the Society that the Church was gradually gathering strength, and that a more serious turn of mind began to show itself, especially at Flushing, where the white congregation had increased from

¹ Original Letters, vol. xix. l. 154.

² Ibid. l. 155.

³ Ibid. l. 156.

twenty to eighty. At Jamaica there were 120 families in communion with the Church, affording twenty-nine communicants; while the families of dissenters of various denominations amounted to 500.¹ But the Church seems to have been constantly winning back her own, for we find that, in 1764, he baptized at one time "ten adults, who gave a good account of their faith."²

This year his Mission was visited by Mr. Whitfield, who remained a considerable time, and, Mr. Seabury "feared, had done a great deal of mischief," as his tenets and method of preaching had been adopted by many dissenters, "and a continual succession of strolling preachers, who misrepresented the Church as popish." None, however, of his own people had been led away, while many of them had become more serious and devout.³

Mr. Seabury had now had considerable experience, and the best opportunities of forming a judgment on the effects of various religious systems which he saw in operation around him. It is therefore instructive to know his deliberate opinion of that negative system of faith which was first introduced into America by George Fox, and which, rejecting the voice of the Church, and all external revelation, referred everything to the inward light. He says, in making a report to the Society of the religious state of the Mission of Hempsted, "It is evident to the most superficial observer that, where there have been the greatest number of Quakers among the first settlers in this country, there infidelity and a disregard to all religion have taken the deepest root; and if they have not entirely corrupted the religious principles of the other inhabitants, they have at least very much weakened them, and made them look upon religion with indifference. This seems to me the

¹ Report for 1763.

² Ibid. 1765.

³ Journal, vol. xvi. p. 270.

reason why it is so hard to bring the people of that parish, or this (Jamaica) to comply with the sacraments of the Christian Church, or to think themselves under any obligation of duty to attend the public worship of God.”¹

It was during this year that the loss of two promising missionaries at sea, as recounted in an earlier chapter, occurred. Such calamities are but too frequent in the annals of the early American Church, and they must ever be recorded to the shame and condemnation of the mother country, for so long turning a deaf ear to the urgent and oft-repeated call of the Colonies for resident Bishops. In the present case, two young men, willing and well qualified to serve the Church, having at much cost and inconvenience obtained ordination in England, were, on their voyage back, drowned within sight of their own country. This sad event is thus commented upon by Mr. Seabury, in a letter dated April 17, 1766, and the observations are the more interesting as coming from one who was himself afterwards called to be Bishop:—

“ We have lately had a most affecting account of the loss of Messrs. Giles and Wilson, the Society’s Missionaries, the ship they were in being wrecked near the entrance of Delaware Bay, and only four persons saved out of twenty-eight. Their death is a great loss in the present want of clergymen in these colonies; and, indeed, I believe one great reason why so few from this continent offer themselves for holy orders is, because it is evident from experience that not more than four out of five who have gone from the northern colonies have returned. This is one unanswerable argument for the absolute necessity of bishops in the colonies. The poor Church of England in America is the only instance that ever happened of an episcopal church without a bishop, and in which no orders could be obtained, without crossing an ocean of 3,000 miles in extent. Without bishops the

¹ Original Letters, vol. xix. l. 166.

Church cannot flourish in America ; and unless the Church be well supported and prevail, this whole continent will be overrun with infidelity and deism, methodism and new light, with every species and every degree of scepticism and enthusiasm ; and without a bishop upon the spot, I fear it will be impossible to keep the Church herself pure and undefiled. And that it is of the last consequence to the State to support the Church here, the present times afford a most alarming proof.”¹

In 1766, Mr. Seabury, whose necessary expenses at Jamaica far exceeded the amount of his professional income, seeing but little hope of the congregation redeeming the pledge which they gave on his coming among them, of providing him with a parsonage-house, intimated to the Society his wish to accept the offer of the mission of West Chester, which was made to him by the churchwardens and vestry ; and, the Society consenting to this proposal, he removed thither at the end of the year 1766. His average congregation at this place was about two hundred ; and he states that one of the means which he adopted of communicating religious instruction to the people, was preaching at funerals in the more remote districts, whereby he had the opportunity of addressing those who could not be brought together at any other time.

At the commencement of the civil troubles, Mr. Seabury expressed a hope that, at least, they would have the effect of proving which party, the Churchmen or their opponents, were the best friends of social order and good government. The following are his words, in a letter dated March 29, 1770:—

“The violent party heats which prevail in this colony, as well as in the others, engross at present the attention of the people. But I think that even these disturbances will be attended with some advantage to the interest of the Church. The usefulness and

¹ Original Letters, vol. xix. l. 169.

truth of her doctrines, with regard to civil government, appear more evident from those disorders which other principles have led the people into. This is particularly remarked and publicly mentioned by the more candid and reasonable people, who seem heartily tired with the late clamours for liberty, &c., as it appears evident that unbounded licentiousness in manners, and insecurity to private property, must be the unavoidable consequence of some late measures, should they become prevalent.”¹

The violence of the democratical party, however, continued to gather strength. For some years longer, indeed, Mr. Seabury was permitted to remain in the quiet discharge of his sacred duties; but in the civil war which ensued, neither person nor property was secure. In 1776, he was seized by a party of the disaffected in arms, and carried off to Newhaven, all his papers being examined for proof against him. After describing this outrage, he says, “God’s providence will, I hope, protect His Church and Clergy in this country, the disorder and confusion of which are beyond description. But it is His property to bring order out of confusion, good out of evil; and may His will be done.”²

Already Drs. Chandler and Cooper had been compelled to fly for their lives; the charge against them and the other Clergy being, that, “in conjunction with the Society and the British ministry,” they had concerted a plan for enslaving America. “I do not think,” says Mr. Seabury, “that those people who raised this calumny believe one syllable of it, but only intend it as an engine to turn the popular fury upon the Church; which, should the violent schemes of some of our eastern neighbours succeed, will probably fall a sacrifice to the persecuting spirit of independency.”³

¹ Original Letters, vol. xix. l. 178.

² Ibid. l. 189.

³ Ibid. l. 187.

As every thing from the pen of Mr. Seabury, in reference to the history of those critical times, possesses a twofold claim to attention, the following additional details are added. He says, in a letter, dated New York, December 29, 1776 :—

“ Since my last letter, I have undergone more uneasiness than I can describe; more, I believe, than I could well support again.

“ When the present unnatural rebellion was first beginning, I foresaw evidently what was coming on the country, and I exerted myself to stem the torrent of popular clamour, to recall people to the use of their reason, and to retain them in their loyalty and allegiance. Several pamphlets appeared in favour of government; among others, some written under the character of a Farmer, which gave great offence to the sons of liberty, as the rebels then styled themselves. These were attributed to me, and were the principal reason of my being carried into Connecticut the last year. If I would have disavowed these publications, I should have been set at liberty in a few days; but as I refused to declare whether I were, or were not, the author, they kept me, till they sent to New York and New London, and wherever they could hear of a journeyman printer, who had wrought for Mr. Rivington at the time when those pamphlets were published, and had them examined; but, finding no sufficient proof, upon my putting in a memorial to the general assembly at Connecticut, the gang who took me prisoner thought proper to withdraw their guard, and let me return. I continued tolerably quiet at home for a few weeks, till after the king's troops evacuated Boston, when, the rebel army passing from thence to New York, bodies of them, consisting of twenty or thirty men, would, every day or two, sometimes two or three times a-day, come through West Chester, though five miles out of their way, and never failed to stop at my house, I believe only for the malicious pleasure of insulting me by reviling the king, the parliament, Lord North, the Church, the Bishops, the Clergy, and the Society, and, above all, that vilest of all miscreants, A. W. Farmer. One would give 100 dollars to know who he was, that he might plunge his bayonet into his heart; another would crawl fifty miles to see

him roasted; but, happily for the farmer, it was not in the power of any person in America to expose him. This continued about a month. Matters then became pretty quiet, till they got intelligence that General Howe was coming to New York. Independency was then declared by the grand Congress at Philadelphia; and the petty Congress of New York published an edict, making it death to aid, abet, support, assist, or comfort the king, or any of his forces, servants or friends. Till this time I had kept the church open. About fifty armed men were now sent into my neighbourhood.

“I was now in a critical situation. If I prayed for the king, the least I could expect was to be sent into New England: probably something worse, as no clergyman on the continent was so obnoxious to them. If I went to church and omitted praying for the king, it would not only be a breach of my duty, but in some degree countenancing their rebellion, and supporting that independency which they had declared. As the least culpable course, I determined not to go to church, and ordered the sexton, on Sunday morning, to tell any person who should inquire, that till I could pray for the king, and do my duty according to the rubric and canons, there would be neither prayers nor sermon. About half a dozen of my parishioners, and a dozen rebel soldiers, came to the church. The rest of the people, in a general way, declared that they would not go to church till their minister was at liberty to pray for the king.

“Soon after this, the British fleet and army arrived at Staten Island. The rebels then became very alert in apprehending the friends of government. Many had retired to West Chester from New York. These were first sought after; some escaped; many were seized. My situation became daily more critical, as they began to take up the inhabitants of the country. At length two ships of war came into the Sound, and took their station within sight of my house. Immediately the whole coast was guarded, that no one might go to them. Within a few days the troops landed on Long Island, and the rebels were defeated. A body of them then took post at the heights near Kingsbridge, in my parish, and began to throw up works. Another body fixed themselves within two miles of my house.

“For some time before, I had kept a good deal out of sight, lodging abroad, and never being at home for more than an hour or two at a time, and having a number of people whom I could depend upon engaged, who punctually informed me of every circumstance that was necessary for me to know.”

With some difficulty he effected his escape to Long Island. The troops then, having burned the pews, converted his church into a hospital. They also quartered cavalry in his house, and consumed all the produce of his farm. A school which he had opened at West Chester was necessarily broken up, and thus he was deprived of every means of support.

When the king's troops passed over into the county of West Chester, Mr. Seabury accompanied them, and, being perfectly acquainted with the roads and rivers of the country, furnished General Clinton with plans and maps, which were very serviceable. Soon after this, his residence became too exposed to be safe, and he accordingly retired, with his family, to New York. His withdrawal was but just in time; for, shortly afterwards, many persons were seized and carried off from that neighbourhood, and the whole country, for thirty miles round, was laid waste and ruined, partly by the march of the king's army, and partly by that of the insurgents.

He then goes on to say:—

“I hope my conduct will be approved by the Society. I assure them I have done everything in my power to retain the people in their duty, nor did I shut up the church, or leave the Mission, while it was practicable for me to do duty in either. I must also observe, that but few of my congregation are engaged in the rebellion. The New England rebels used frequently to observe, as an argument against me, that the nearer they come to West Chester, the fewer friends they found to American liberty—that is, to rebellion; and, in justice to the rebels of East and West

Chester I must say, that none of them ever offered me any insult, or attempted to do me any injury, that I know of. It must give the Society great satisfaction to know that all their Missionaries have conducted themselves with great propriety, and on many occasions with a firmness and steadiness that have done them honour. This may, indeed, be said of all the clergy on this side the Delaware, and, I am persuaded, of many on the other. But the conduct of the Philadelphia clergy has been the very reverse. They not only rushed headlong into the rebellion themselves, but perverted the judgment, and soured the tempers, and inflamed the passions of the people, by sermons and orations, both from the pulpit and the press. Their behaviour hath been of great disadvantage to the loyal clergy. . . Messrs. Babcock, Townsend, and James Sayre, were seized by the rebels some time in October, and I have not heard of their being discharged.

“ Mr. Veits is a close prisoner in Hartford jail, and has been in irons. He is to be tried for his life, some say for assisting the royalists, who were confined in Simsbury mines, in breaking out; others, for concealing those unhappy people after they had broke out, and for helping them to make their escape.

“ Mr. Beardsley has been obliged to leave his Mission. I saw him lately in this town, and I presume he will write to the Society.

“ Mr. Leaming has been taken up by the rebels, but was dismissed in a few hours.

“ I just mention what I have heard of these gentlemen because it will be difficult, if not impracticable, for them to write, and because I know the Society will be glad to get any little information about their Missionaries, and to know how they are treated.”¹

The persecution and privations to which they were exposed in the war, whether from the royalist or rebel armies, proved fatal to several of the clergy. At Rye, Mr. Avery was a principal sufferer. His horses were seized, his cattle driven off, and his property plundered.

¹ Original Letters, vol. xix. l. 190.

His death, by some supposed to have been occasioned by these losses, happened soon afterwards.

Another victim to ill-treatment, already mentioned, was the Rev. Luke Babcock, Missionary at Philipsburg. He was seized by the insurgents, his papers were examined, and, because he answered affirmatively to the question whether he considered himself bound by his oath of allegiance to the king, he was deemed an enemy to the liberties of America, and ordered to be kept in custody. After four months' confinement his health gave way, and he was then dismissed with a written order to remove within the lines of the king's army. "He got home," says Mr. Seabury, "with difficulty, in a raging fever and delirious, and there died extremely regretted. Indeed, I knew not a more excellent man, and I fear his loss, especially in that Mission, will scarcely be made up."¹

Mr. Seabury, who communicated this sad intelligence, goes on, in the same letter, to say:—

"The church in this country hath also sustained another loss, in the death of the Rev. Dr. Auchmuty. To avoid the insults of the rebels, he had retired from this city to Brunswick, in New Jersey. When the rebels were driven from hence, they endeavoured to guard the passes in such a manner as to prevent the friends of government from returning to it. The doctor's anxiety to return to his charge was so great, that he was determined to attempt it at all rates. By travelling in the night, and otherwise exposing himself, he caught a severe cold, which, increasing, at length threw him into a fever which proved fatal. I wish I could give the Society a more pleasing account of the Missionaries in Connecticut. I believe they are all either carried away from their cures, or confined to their houses, except Mr. Dibblee, who is gone to Sharon to be inoculated for the small-pox,—possibly hoping thereby to enjoy a few weeks' respite from persecution.

¹ Original Letters, vol. xix. l. 191.

With regard to my own Mission, I can only say that it is utterly ruined. Before the king's troops went into that part of the country, the people were robbed of their cattle, and otherwise plundered by the rebels; and, I am sorry to say, that they suffered greatly in that way from the royal army. Little or no distinction was made. No redress could be obtained, and no stop was put to it. As soon as the king's troops withdrew, the rebels returned in parties, and every party plundered the inhabitants. Many fled to this city, with what little they could carry; many were deprived by the rebels of everything but the clothes on their backs, and sent off with only six days' provision, because they refused to swear allegiance to the "States of America." Children and infants have been deprived of their clothes, and women in childbed have had the covering, even the sheets torn from their beds by those monsters, who seem to have nothing of humanity left, but the shape of men only. Many families of my parishioners are now in this town, who used to live decently, suffering for common necessities. I daily meet them, and it is melancholy to observe their dejection strongly marked on their faces, which seem to implore that assistance which I am unable to give. To pity them and pray for them is all I can do. I shall say nothing more of my own situation at present, than that I have hitherto supported myself and family with decency, and I will not distrust the goodness of God, which has hitherto preserved me, nor render myself unworthy of it by repining and discontent."¹

Some further indications of the state of public feeling, and the persecution to which Churchmen, in particular, were subject, are contained in a letter of the Rev. Leonard Cutting. This excellent Clergyman, who had been educated at Eton and Cambridge, and had for some time held the office of public tutor at the college of New York, was appointed to succeed Mr. Seabury at Hempsted in 1765. He was received with much kindness by the people, and found in the township about ninety families who were

¹ Original Letters, vol. xix. l. 191.

in communion with the Church; and, as there was no resident dissenting minister, many persons belonging to other religious bodies frequented the church which was thus well filled. The Churchmen, however, were the most numerous body, with the exception of the Dutch, who appear to have been well affected. Indeed there was no sign of religious animosity in Long Island. The Presbyterians were "kind and obliging neighbours, sober and pious in their conversation." Great numbers, however, of every sect remained unbaptized, owing to the long prevalence of Quakerism.¹ A school—long wanted—was opened in June, 1770.

Unhappily Mr. Cutting was not permitted long to carry on his ministrations in peace. The people in his own parish, indeed, were, for the most part, steady loyalists, opposed to the election of delegates; and they were, consequently, subjected to many harassing annoyances. Their houses were occupied by an armed rabble, while the rightful possessors were compelled to hide themselves in woods and swamps, or were seized and carried prisoners to Connecticut. Mr. Cutting continued to perform divine service for some weeks after the declaration of Independence, though orders were more than once issued to take him out of his church; and, upon the whole, it appears that the Church had rather made progress during the disturbances. He states that "there were not above three who called themselves Churchmen amongst the malcontents;" and adds, "that as there was no settled Presbyterian teacher to inflame the minds of the people, the dissenters were left to their own cool judgments, attended the Church service, and, in general, approved of, and joined their neighbours in the opposition to the Congress."

¹ Original Letters, vol. xix. l. 143.

From a subsequent letter, written at the end of 1781, it appears that the loyalists suffered even more from the rapacity of the King's troops than from the violence of the insurgents. "Where the army is," he says, "oppression, such as in England you can have no conception of, universally prevails. We have nothing we can call our own, and the door to redress is inaccessible. The army has done more essential injury to the King's cause than the utmost efforts of his enemies.

Other details are furnished by the Rev. Philip Reading, of Apoquiminick. On March 18th, 1776, he says, "'No more passive obedience and non-resistance' was scribbled on his church doors; and it was made a ground of complaint against one of the captains of militia, that he had 'lugged' his company to church on the day of the public fast, to hear 'that old wretch' preach, 'who was always an enemy to the present measures.'" And again, August 25th of the same year, he says:—"Being assured on all hands of the danger with which I was threatened, if I persisted in complying with my oaths, vows, and subscriptions, I thought it high time to consult my own and my family's safety; and therefore, on Sunday, July 28th, when the people were assembled for public worship, before I began the service, I explained to them the obligations the Clergy of the Church of England are under to assert the King's supremacy in their public ministrations, and acquainted them that as I could not read the Liturgy agreeably to the prescribed form, without offending against the new government, and incurring the resentment of the people, I should on that day declare the church shut up for six weeks. Accordingly, after the Nicene Creed, I declared in form that, as I had no design to resist the authority of

¹ Original Letters, vol. xix. l. 153.

the new government, on one hand, and as I was determined, on the other, not to incur the heavy guilt of perjury by a breach of the most solemn promises, I should decline attending on the public worship for a short time from that day ; but that, for the benefit of those who were in full and close communion with me, for comforting them in the present distress, for strengthening them in the faith, for encouraging them to persevere in their present profession unto the end, I would administer the sacrament of the Lord's Supper on (Sept. 8th) that day six weeks. I had proposed to say more on the subject, but the scene became too affecting for me to bear a further part in it. Many of the people present were overwhelmed with deep distress, and the cheeks of some began to be bathed with tears. My own tongue faltered, and my firmness forsook me ; beckoning, therefore, to the clerk to sing the psalm, I went into the pulpit, and having exhorted the members of the Church to 'hold fast the profession of their faith without wavering,' and to depend upon the promises of a faithful God for their present comfort and future relief, I finished this irksome business, and Apoquimininck church from that day has continued shut up."¹

The Rev. John Sayre, Nov. 8, 1779, after speaking of the satisfactory state of the Mission of Fairfield, as shown both by the increase in the number of his congregation, and by their confirmed attachment to the Church, is compelled to turn aside from the details of Missionary operations to describe the unhappy course of events by which the exertions of himself and so many other of his brethren were paralyzed. His people were engaged in enlarging their church, when a stop was put to their work by the open violence of the insurgents. Indeed the churches generally,

¹ Original Letters, vol. xv. l. 211.

throughout this and the neighbouring province, became the first object of attack. The hangings were torn down, the leads stripped off, bullets were fired through the windows, and the sacred edifices themselves exposed to every sort of wanton defilement. And, while the churches were thus injured and desecrated, those who formed the congregations were, on account of their loyalty, subjected to the worst species of oppression and persecution. They were fined and imprisoned on the most frivolous pretences; and, during this time of distress, Mr. Sayre most generously relinquished his legal dues, and informed his congregation that "he should expect only a bare subsistence for his family during the troubles; while they, on their part, determining not to be outdone in generosity, stood by him and ministered to his wants at the risk of their personal safety." Shortly after this he was confined to his house and garden, and proclaimed as an enemy to his country, "for refusing to sign an association, pledging its members to oppose the King with life and fortune, and to withdraw all offices of even justice, humanity, and charity, from every recusant. In consequence of this advertisement," says Mr. Sayre, "all persons were forbidden to hold any kind of correspondence, or to have any manner of dealing with me, on pain of bringing themselves under the same predicament. This order was posted up in every store, mill, mechanical shop, and public house in the county, and was repeatedly published in the newspapers; but, through the goodness of the Lord, we wanted for nothing, our people, under cover of the night, and, as it were, by stealth, supplying us with plenty of the comforts and necessities of life."

But as he still manifested the same unshaken attachment to his Majesty's person and government, he was

banished to a distance from his Mission, till, at length, on his people offering to become security for his safe custody, he was allowed to return to Fairfield and resume his long-suspended ministrations.

Nothing is more gratifying than to find, amid the cruelty, and selfishness, and mutual distrust which ordinarily characterize periods of civil war, such instances of noble and generous conduct; and we hardly know whether most to admire the self-denying devotion of the pastor to his flock, or the fidelity and affection of the flock to their pastor. This feeling of attachment on the part of the people among whom he had been labouring could not have been undeserved. Mr. Sayre writes very modestly:—

“The loss of all my books and papers puts it out of my power to transmit an exact account of the marriages, funerals, and baptisms, since the first year of my residence in Fairfield; but I think they have not greatly altered since that time. There has been, however, a considerable augmentation in the number of communicants. I think, on my first going to Fairfield, they did not exceed forty. Some time ago they were considerably more than a hundred; but lately, I believe, something less, owing to refugees hinted at above.”

With such obvious fruits of his labour he determined not to quit his post, but remain with his people and “see the end.” This resolution, however, he was compelled, by an unforeseen calamity, to abandon. On the 7th July, 1779, General Tryon landed at Fairfield and set fire to the town, after having ordered a guard to protect the house of the Clergyman and a few others. “But,” says Mr. Sayre, “the ungovernable flames soon extended to them all, and in a few minutes left me with a family, consisting of my wife and eight children, destitute of food, house, and raiment.” He was then compelled to seek protection by

retiring within the King's lines; and he thus sums up the history of his own losses and those of the Mission:—

“The valuable little library given by the Society was burnt, together with my own; and the plate belonging to Trinity church, at Fairfield, was lost, as well as that of my family, and the handsome church itself was entirely consumed. The people of that Mission have met with a heavy stroke in the loss of their church, parsonage-house, plate, books, &c., not to mention myself, their unworthy minister.

“My own loss includes my little all; but what I most regret, is my absence from my flock, to which my heart was, and still is, most tenderly attached. I trust, however, that the Great Shepherd will keep them in his own tuition and care. I bless the Lord for that, through all my trials, I have endeavoured to keep a conscience void of offence towards God and towards men; continually striving to discharge my duties to my Master, my king, and my people; and am bound to thank the Lord daily for that divine protection, that tranquillity of mind, and that peace of conscience which, through his grace, I have all along enjoyed.”¹

It will be gathered from the general tenour of the foregoing statements, that the Missionaries of New York and those of the New England colonies were, for the most part, staunch loyalists, and even sufferers for their faithful allegiance to their sovereign. A less resolute spirit seems to have pervaded the Clergy of Pennsylvania, who, with some exceptions like Mr. Reading, discovered more sympathy for the cause of the patriots, and a desire to reconcile their duty to the Church with some concessions to the popular will. This will be evident from the following statement of the Rev. Dr. Smith,² Provost of

¹ Original Letters, vol. xvii. l. 233.

² At a voluntary Convention which was held at Philadelphia, May 2, 1760, as Dr. Jenny was incapable of acting, Dr. Smith was chosen President, and preached. There were twelve Clergymen present, and Mr. Inglis says “so many black gowns made no inconsiderable appearance in those parts.” —Original Letters, vol. xv. l. 139.

the College at Philadelphia, who seems to have acted on many occasions for the Society, as adviser and referee, and in 1767, was allowed a small stipend for his services in the Mission of Oxford :—

“ The several letters which you have directed to my care, by the last ships—viz., to Messrs. Tingley, Battwell, Curry, Murray, Craig, and Magaw, are duly forwarded. Their difficulties in their Missions are greatly increased by the present alarming state of things, and never were men in a more trying or delicate situation. We had hitherto, with one consent and one mind, kept our pulpits wholly free from everything bordering on the present unnatural controversy. But now our people have all taken up arms, and entered into associations, never to submit to the parliamentary claim of taxing them at pleasure. We see nothing in our churches but men in their uniforms; and though they excuse us on Sundays, yet they are now everywhere requesting occasional sermons on the present situation of things. The case of the poor Missionaries is hard. To comply may offend their protectors, and those that support them in the parent country; to refuse would leave them without congregations everywhere; and perhaps it is more the wish of some that they should refuse than comply. We intended to have held a general meeting to consult together on these difficulties, but found that it might involve us in new difficulties, by having it suspected we met for purposes of another kind. All these difficulties increased from the necessity some of our brethren apprehended themselves in, of quitting their charges and going to England. I wish they could have stood their ground, which I think might possibly have been accomplished, without any unworthy compliances on their part. For, when the shepherds are out of the way, the flocks will be scattered. Some of Dr. Chandler’s congregation whom I have seen do insist that he would have been perfectly safe in staying. But of that matter he and his family perhaps could only judge, or at least in such a way as to satisfy his own mind. We have not been able of late to correspond with our brethren in New York, so that I have not the

particulars of Dr. Cooper's case ; but have heard that he was under an evident necessity of retiring for a time.

"If our Clergy were generally to quit their people at this time, I say, we should not have the appearance of a Church or people left. A conduct, therefore, of the most prudent nature is required from us. We need not widen the breach, and yet we may wish well to (nay, in all decency and firmness contend for) the just rights of America ; and so far indulge our people as to convince them that the Clergy of our Church are as true friends to liberty, and as much devoted to the constitutional and just rights of their country, as any other man in America. And upon this plan we have all judged it our duty to prepare for keeping the fast recommended by the Congress to be kept July 20th ; and also not to decline our turns of the occasional service required of us by our people at other times, hoping our prudence and consciences may lead us safely through the difficulties with which we are beset. Indeed, exclusive of the recommendation, never were fasting and humiliation more our duties."

He says, further, that no man had laboured more zealously than himself to avert the calamities in which both countries were then involved ; that he did his utmost to bring about a reconciliation ; and though he would have preferred to reserve his pulpit for the appropriate lessons which belong to it, yet, when unavoidably called upon to speak, he could not "betray the cause of universal liberty, nor suffer our Church or Clergy to labour under the imputation of departing from those principles which distinguished some of her brightest luminaries near a century past." Such, he says, were not only his own views, but those of his brethren in the province ; and he maintains that, if they were to suffer "the notion to prevail that the Church Clergy are tools of power, slavish in their tenets, and secret enemies to the principles of the revolution, it would give a deadly wound to the Church in America."

These views he set forth at large in a sermon, of which some thousands were sold in a day or two after its publication.¹

In a subsequent letter, dated August 28th, 1775, he speaks of the union and organization of the States:—

“The Americans continue firm in the measures they have adopted for opposing parliamentary taxation; and the colony of Georgia has now joined the other twelve colonies. Administration can expect nothing by hopes of disunion here. Would to God that a suspension of hostilities and a negotiation could take place, before either side have proceeded too far in measures so ruinous to both. For this I pray, and for this I labour daily; and in such a way, perhaps, as may subject me to the blame of the violent of both sides. But I look far beyond the present heated times. Since I wrote to you, all our clergy within my knowledge, two only excepted, in four provinces, have preached on the Fast of July 20th. Some of their sermons are printed, and more in the press. You will herewith receive two of Mr. Duché’s, and one of Mr. Coombe’s. Please to communicate them to the Lord Bishop of London.”

The Rev. Samuel Tingley, mentioned by Dr. Smith, was Missionary at Lewes, Pennsylvania, and the only clergyman for one hundred miles in length. He used to travel three thousand miles a-year to officiate at distant stations, and had sometimes from thirty to fifty children brought to him at one time for Baptism. Like his brethren, he was plundered and ill-used by the insurgents, but kept his church open notwithstanding their threats. To such straits, however, was he reduced, that, to use his own words, “he had scarcely bread to eat or clothes to put on.”

Another Missionary, the Rev. J. Leaming, of Norwalk,

¹ In 1777, the Society came to the resolution of relieving Dr. Smith from his charge of the Mission at Oxford; a resolution which he considered to have been occasioned by the sermon above referred to.

had now for some years been engaged in the zealous discharge of his pastoral office; his sole desire being that those committed to his care "might be Christians indeed." He could not, however, fail to see the dangers to which the Church was exposed from enemies without, as well as from its want of internal organization. Writing to the Society, September 29th, 1763, he says:—"I hope there will be means found out to support the Church in this Government, otherwise I fear there will be no religion here in the next generation. In order that it might be supported in the purity of it, there is great need of a Bishop to confirm, ordain, and govern. Every Body wants a Head."

During the troubles of the civil war, he was unfortunate enough to suffer most severely from both the British and American parties. Writing from New York, 29th July, 1779, he says:—"On the 11th instant, by the unavoidable event of the operation of his Majesty's troops under the command of General Tryon, my church and great part of my parish was laid in ashes, by which I have lost everything I had there—my furniture, books, and all my papers, even all my apparel, except what was on my back. My loss that fatal day was not less than twelve or thirteen hundred pounds sterling. Although in great danger, my life has been preserved; and I hope I shall never forget the kind providence of God in that trying hour." As a specimen of the insults to which the loyal clergy were exposed, it may be mentioned that the mob took his picture, defaced and nailed it to a sign-post, with the head downward.¹ He was afterwards put in jail as a Tory, and denied even the comfort of a bed. This brought on a hip complaint, which made him a cripple for life.

¹ Journal, vol. xxii. p. 141.

As the history of this period is the history rather of the sufferings and dispersion, than of the labours, of the Missionaries, it seems of little consequence whether or not the record of their troubles be connected with the particular colonies to which they properly belonged. It may be as well, therefore, in this place, to make a brief reference to the trials and persecutions of another victim of these unhappy times.

The Rev. Jacob Bailey, whose services at Pownalborough have already been noticed,¹ states, that for refusing to read the declaration of independence, he was declared an enemy to his country, and ordered to appear before the general court, 180 miles from his own residence, and in the depth of winter; that on visiting a settlement, at the desire of the people, to preach among them, and to baptize their children, he was assaulted by an armed mob, who stripped him naked in search of papers; and, in short, that during the present commotions, he had suffered almost every form of persecution. Three times he had been driven from his family, and obliged to preserve a precarious freedom by roving about the country through unfrequented roads, under cover of darkness, and in disguise; while his family were distressed beyond measure for the common necessities of life, though relieved by his own people as long as they had anything to bestow. During his wanderings he preached in private houses, and baptized a great number of children at George Town, Falmouth, Wyndham, Portsmouth, &c. He concludes by giving a most deplorable account of the state of New England, from which, he says, religion had almost vanished.²

In a work pretending to record the names of the more distinguished American Missionaries, it would be unpar-

¹ P. 230.

² Report for 1780.

donable to omit all notice, though we must content ourselves with a short one, of the Rev. John Stuart, styled by the Bishop of Toronto the "Father of the Church in Upper Canada."¹ He was recommended to the Society by Sir William Johnson as Missionary to the Mohawks. He arrived at Fort Hunter, December 2, 1770, and was received with great joy by the Indians. The number of inhabitants was then about 170. On Christmas-day following he preached at Canaijohare, a village about thirty miles distant, and administered the Holy Communion to twenty Indian converts.

He describes them as "attending divine service constantly, and making the responses with the greatest regularity and seeming devotion." "Indeed," he says, "their whole deportment is such as is but rarely seen in religious assemblies that have been better instructed."

In 1774, he says—"Their morals are much improved since my residence among them." In this year they lost by death their best friend and patron, Sir William Johnson, who, during the whole period of his administration, had shown a most laudable desire to improve their condition; and by whose advice and encouragement it was, that Mr. Stuart was induced to prepare a Mohawk translation of the Gospel according to St. Mark, with a compendious history of the Bible, and an exposition of the Church Catechism in the same language.

Mr. Stuart says, in 1775, when parties had become violent, that the Indians were attached to him, and had publicly declared that they would protect and defend him as long as he continued to reside among them. In 1781, he gives the following account of the troubles and priva-

¹ Charge, 1842.

tions which he had to endure personally, and of the scandalous profanation of his church:—

“At the commencement of the unhappy contest betwixt Great Britain and her colonies, I acquainted the Society of the firm reliance I had on the fidelity and loyalty of my congregation, which has justified my opinion; for the faithful Mohawks, rather than swerve from their allegiance, chose rather to abandon their dwellings and property; and accordingly went in a body to General Burgoyne, and afterwards were obliged to take shelter in Canada. While they remained at Fort Hunter I continued to officiate as usual, performing the public service entire, even after the declaration of Independence, notwithstanding by so doing I incurred the penalty of high treason by the new laws. As soon as my protectors were fled I was made a prisoner, and ordered to depart the province, with my family, within the space of four days, or be put into close confinement; and this only upon suspicion that I was a loyal subject of the king of Great Britain. Upon this I was admitted to ‘paroles,’ and confined to the limits of the town of Schenectady, in which situation I have remained for upwards of three years. My house has been frequently broken open by mobs, my property plundered, and, indeed, every kind of indignity offered to my person by the lowest of the populace. At length my farm, and the produce of it, was formally taken from me, in May last, as forfeited to the state; and, as the last resource, I proposed to open a Latin school for the support of my family. But this privilege was denied, on pretence that, as a prisoner of war, I was not entitled to exercise any lucrative occupation in the state. I then applied for permission to remove to Canada, which, after much difficulty and expense, I obtained upon the following conditions:—to give bail in the sum of 400*l*. to send a rebel colonel in my room, or else return to Albany, and surrender myself a prisoner whenever required. In consequence of which I set out on my journey from Schenectady on the 19th of September last, with my wife and three small children; and, after suffering much fatigue and difficulty, we arrived safe at St. John’s, in Canada, on the 9th instant. . . . I cannot omit to mention that my church was plundered by the rebels, and the

pulpit-cloth taken away from the pulpit; it was afterwards employed as a tavern, and the barrel of rum placed in the reading-desk. The succeeding year it was used for a stable, and now serves as a fort.”¹

On his arrival in Canada he immediately repaired to the Mohawk village, where he was affectionately welcomed by his Indian flock. They offered to build a house for him, that he might continue to reside amongst them; but he preferred fixing his residence at Montreal, and going over to them once a month. He was soon afterwards appointed chaplain to the 2d battalion of the Royal Yorkers; and in addition to this duty, he opened a school, which had long been wanted in the city.

Another clergyman also, the Rev. John Doty, not long before appointed to the Mission of Schenectady, after having twice been made prisoner, was happy to escape (in 1777) with his family into Canada, where he was soon afterwards appointed by Sir John Johnson to a military chaplaincy.²

The loyalty of the clergy in the northern and eastern states drew down upon them the resentment of the republican authorities, and many of them, of course, sought protection under the royal flag, while not a few of those who survived the troubles were afraid to remain in America. A large number of refugees, among whom were several clergy, sought an asylum in New York; and, as the churches did not afford sufficient accommodation, it became necessary to make suitable arrangements for the celebration of divine worship in the City Hall, where the refugee clergymen ministered to their brethren in affliction.

¹ Original Letters, vol. xix. l. 204.

² Journal, vol. xxi. p. 344.

CHAPTER XIV.

NEW YORK.

Rev. Charles Inglis appointed to Dover Mission—Becomes Assistant to Dr. Auchmuty at New York—Urges the appointment of Bishops—Plan for conversion of the Indians—Letter recounting the progress of the Civil War and the sufferings of the Clergy—Death of Dr. Auchmuty—Election of Mr. Inglis as Rector of Trinity—Treaty of 1783—Confiscation of Mr. Inglis's Property—He retires to Nova Scotia—Bishop of Oxford's Testimony to the conduct of the Missionaries—Address of the Clerical and Lay Deputies of the American Church.

ON Mr. Neill's removal, in 1758, from Dover to the less laborious Mission of Oxford, in the same province (Pennsylvania), Mr. Charles Inglis was recommended to the Society as his successor. He had, during the last three years, conducted the free-school at Lancaster to the satisfaction of all, and had thus become favourably known to the clergy of the neighbourhood, who now testified of him "as a young gentleman of unblemished character, discreet in his behaviour, and free from even the suspicion of anything unbecoming." With these high testimonials he came to England, was admitted by the Bishop of London to holy orders, and re-embarked for his humble Mission, to which a salary of 50*l.* a year was attached. Such was the modest commencement of a career, which was destined to be marked by various fortunes, and distinguished by services of the highest value to the Church.

Mr. Inglis, after a long and dangerous voyage, arrived at Dover on the 1st of July, 1759; and at this distance of

eighty-six years, it is impossible not to remember with thankfulness, that the son is still administering, with unimpaired vigour and energy, one division of that important diocese which, when it was first placed under the father's spiritual superintendence, comprehended the whole of the British colonies in that quarter of the world. So long a period of service (and still, let us hope, to be considerably extended) to the colonial church, deserves, surely, special notice and remembrance.

Mr. Inglis, on coming to his Mission, found the situation unhealthy from the neighbourhood of low, marshy lands. There were within it three churches, but that at Dover was in a most ruinous condition. He soon, however, contrived to restore it, and to build a fourth on the borders of Maryland. The Mission comprised the whole county of Kent, thirty-three miles in length and ten in breadth, with a population of 7000, of which a third belonged to the communion of the church.¹

A method which he had adopted to abate the drunkenness, debauchery, and riots, which were the usual consequence of meetings to hear candidates for the office of representative or sheriff, was to announce a sermon at the same place and hour; and by this he drew off many.

In 1763, he informed the Society of the flourishing state of his Mission, as evidenced by the erection and restoration of churches, the crowds who attended Divine service, the return of dissenters to the Church, and the revival of a spirit of piety in many persons. His own health he described as much affected by the dampness of the situation, as well as by the excessive fatigue of having to attend stations distant severally fourteen, seventeen, and eighteen miles from his own residence.²

¹ Journal, vol. xv. p. 279

² Ibid. vol. xvi. p. 68.

In 1765, Mr. Inglis obtained permission of the Society to accept the appointment of assistant to Dr. Auchmuty, and catechist to the negroes at New York. During the six years of his ministration at Dover he had baptized 756 children and twenty-three adults; while, within the same period, his communicants had increased from forty-nine to one hundred and fourteen.

The churchwardens and vestry of Dover, on the occasion of his departure, wrote to express their great regret at his going, and to testify that he had, "with unwearied diligence, attended four churches, discharging every duty of his functions, and conducting himself on all occasions in a manner truly laudable and exemplary."¹

The melancholy accident, which has been more than once alluded to already, namely, the shipwreck and death at sea of the Rev. Messrs. Giles and Wilson, who had been appointed by the Society his successors in the Mission of Dover and Mispillion, furnished him with an opportunity of renewing with increased force the argument for the appointment of bishops. The following are his observations on the subject:—

"April 19, 1766.

"The expense and hazard in going to England for orders were always discouraging circumstances. This melancholy accident will increase our apprehensions of danger, and shows they are well founded. Nothing but our having Bishops here can remove these and many other grievances which the American Churches labour under.

"Our having Bishops here on the terms we want them is a thing so equitable in itself, and so essential to the interest of religion in our Church, that I am lost in astonishment at our being deprived of them so long. Why are we denied the common privileges of all other subjects? or why are we distinguished by

¹ Journal, vol. xvii. p. 41.

grievances and persecutions to which all other denominations are perfect strangers?

“Our Church must necessarily decline while we are in this situation, and must finally sink unless the timely remedy is applied. If the Clergy of England, therefore, do not exert themselves, and with spirit second the applications hence on this head, a person without the spirit of prophecy may easily tell what the event will be. For my part, I look upon it to be the immediate cause of Christ and his Church; and therefore, every obligation we are under to serve these calls on us to promote this measure.

“As we want not to encroach on the liberties or privileges, civil or religious, of any other denomination, the most violent, unreasonable dissenter dares not openly avow his disapprobation of this measure. Some may murmur in secret, but, as their murmurs will not bear examination, proceeding entirely from a perverse, persecuting spirit, they keep them to themselves. All of them that are moderate and reasonable,—and in charity we should suppose these to be the majority,—own the necessity and equity of our having Bishops. This I know to be the case. But suppose they were violent in opposing this, yet have they any right to do so or be heard? Have we not an equal right to oppose their having ordinations, and synods, and presbyteries, and sessions? Or might we not, with equal justice, oppose any sect here in having the full exercise of their discipline and government? We have already seen what delays in this affair produce. They only weaken our cause, and add strength to our opponents; and I pray God the government may not have cause to repent, when it is too late, their omission of what would be so great a means of securing the affections and dependence of the colonies, and firmly uniting them to the mother country. Even good policy dictates this measure, were the interest of religion and our Church left out of the question.”¹

At the request of several of the principal inhabitants, Mr. Inglis paid a visit to his old Mission of Dover in 1767. He remained with them three Sundays, and officiated at

¹ Original Letters, vol. xix. l. 57.

each of the churches. During this visit he baptized fifty-five children, and had the satisfaction of learning that not a single member of the church had left it since his departure.¹ During the whole of his residence at New York, he exerted himself most zealously in behalf of the Mohawk Indians, and was frequently in communication on the subject of the conversion of these tribes with Sir William Johnson, than whom the Church never had a more loyal supporter in America. Owing to the influence of his example, the members of the church within his neighbourhood increased in a few years from 40 to 140 families. Both Sir William and Mr. Inglis were of opinion, that the most likely means to civilize and convert the tribes was to settle Missionaries and schoolmasters among them; and they estimated that this plan might be attempted, on a sufficiently large scale, at an annual outlay of 500*l*. Mr. Inglis rightly regarded it as “a matter in which our Church and nation, as well as the peace and welfare of the colonies, were deeply concerned, not to mention our duty as Christians, to diffuse the saving light of the gospel among those poor savages.”

But the government would lend no assistance to the design, which, owing to the death of its great promoter, Sir William Johnson, in 1775, and the subsequent civil troubles, was never carried into effect.

¶ Indeed, every plan for the social and religious improvement of the people, whether European or aborigines, was now suspended by the contention of parties and the preparations for war. This state of confusion is described in detail by Mr. Inglis; and as it will appear from his narrative that the clergy were among the more prominent sufferers, his letter seems properly to belong to this history.

¹ Journal, vol. xvii. p. 452.

“ New York, Oct. 31, 1776.

“ Reverend Sir,—The confusions which have prevailed in North America for some time past must have necessarily interrupted the correspondence of the Missionaries with the Society, and that to such a degree as to leave the Society in the dark with respect to the situation both of the Missionaries and the Missions at present. I flatter myself, therefore, that a short authentic account of them, and of the Church of England in general in this and the adjacent colonies, may be acceptable to the Society at this most critical period. The success of his Majesty’s arms in reducing this city, and driving out the rebels, the 15th of last month, affords me an opportunity of doing this, as packets are now again established between this port and England.

“ I have the pleasure to assure you that *all* the Society’s Missionaries, without excepting one, in New Jersey, New York, Connecticut, and, so far as I can learn, in the other New England colonies, have proved themselves faithful, loyal subjects in these trying times; and have to the utmost of their power opposed the spirit of disaffection and rebellion which has involved this continent in the greatest calamities. I must add, that all the other Clergy of our Church in the above colonies, though not in the Society’s service, have observed the same line of conduct; and although their joint endeavours could not wholly prevent the rebellion, yet they checked it considerably for some time, and prevented many thousands from plunging into it who otherwise would certainly have done so.

“ You have, doubtless, been long since informed by my worthy friends, Dr. Chandler and Dr. Cooper, to what an height our violences were risen so early as May 1775, when they were both obliged to fly from hence, and seek protection in England. These violences have been gradually increasing ever since; and this, with the delay of sending over succours, and the king’s troops totally abandoning this province, reduced the friends of government here to a most disagreeable and dangerous situation, particularly the Clergy, who were viewed with peculiar envy and malignity by the disaffected; for, although civil liberty was the ostensible object, the bait that was flung out to catch the populace at large and engage them in the rebellion, yet it is now past all doubt that an abolition

of the Church of England was one of the principal springs of the dissenting leaders' conduct; and hence the unanimity of dissenters in this business. Their universal defection from government, emancipating themselves from the jurisdiction of Great Britain, and becoming independent, was a necessary step towards this grand object. I have it from good authority that the Presbyterian ministers, at a synod where most of them in the middle colonies were collected, passed a resolve to support the continental congress in all their measures. This and this only can account for the uniformity of their conduct; for I do not know one of them, nor have I been able, after strict inquiry, to hear of any, who did not, by preaching and every effort in their power, promote all the measures of the congress, however extravagant.

"The Clergy, amidst this scene of tumult and disorder, went on steadily with their duty; in their sermons, confining themselves to the doctrines of the Gospel, without touching on politics; using their influence to allay our heats and cherish a spirit of loyalty among their people. This conduct, however harmless, gave great offence to our flaming patriots, who laid it down as a maxim, 'That those who were not for them were against them.' The Clergy were everywhere threatened, often reviled with the most opprobrious language, sometimes treated with brutal violence. Some have been carried prisoners by armed mobs into distant provinces, where they were detained in close confinement for several weeks, and much insulted, without any crime being even alleged against them. Some have been flung into jails by committees for frivolous suspicions of plots, of which even their persecutors afterwards acquitted them. Some who were obliged to fly their own province to save their lives have been taken prisoners, sent back, and are threatened to be tried for their lives because they fled from danger. Some have been pulled out of the reading desk because they prayed for the king, and that before independency was declared. Others have been warned to appear at militia musters with their arms, have been fined for not appearing, and threatened with imprisonment for not paying those fines. Others have had their houses plundered, and their desks broken open under pretence of their containing treasonable papers.

"I could fill a volume with such instances; and you may rely

on the facts I have mentioned as indubitable, for I can name the persons, and have these particulars attested in the simplest manner. The persons concerned are all my acquaintances, and not very distant; nor did they draw this treatment on themselves by any imprudence, but for adhering to their duty, which gave offence to some demagogues, who raised mobs to persecute them on that very account. Whatever reluctance or pain a benevolent heart may feel in recounting such things, which are, indeed, a disgrace to humanity and religion, yet they ought to be held up to view, the more effectually to expose the baneful nature of persecution, make it detestable, and put mankind on their guard against its first approaches. Were every instance of this kind faithfully collected, it is probable that the sufferings of the American clergy would appear, in many respects, not inferior to those of the English clergy in the great rebellion of last century; and such a work would be no bad supplement to 'Walker's Sufferings of the Clergy.'

"The present rebellion is certainly one of the most causeless, unprovoked, and unnatural that ever disgraced any country; a rebellion marked with peculiarly aggravated circumstances of guilt and ingratitude; yet amidst this general defection, there are very many who have exhibited instances of fortitude and adherence to their duty which do honour to human nature and Christianity; many who, for the sake of a good conscience, have incurred insults, persecution, and loss of property, when a compliance with the spirit of the times had insured them applause, profit, and that eminence of which the human heart is naturally so fond. Perhaps such cases are the most trying to a man's fortitude, much more so, in my opinion, than those which are sudden, and where danger, though more apparent, yet is not more certain or real. The one is like a weight indoesinently pressing on us, which wastes and consumes our strength; the other, like a transient impulse, which, by a sudden exertion of strength, may be resisted. It is but justice to say that those instances were exhibited by the members of our Church: there is not one of the clergy in the provinces I have specified, of whom this may not be affirmed; and very few of the laity who were respectable or men of property, have joined in the rebellion.

“ Thus matters continued ; the clergy proceeding regularly in the discharge of their duty where the hand of violence did not interfere, until the beginning of last July, when the congress thought proper to make an explicit declaration of independency, by which all connexion with Great Britain was to be broken off, and the Americans released from any allegiance to our gracious sovereign. For my part, I had long expected this event : it was what the measures of the congress from the beginning uniformly and necessarily led to.

“ This declaration increased the embarrassments of the clergy. To officiate publicly, and not pray for the king and royal family according to the liturgy, was against their duty and oath, as well as dictates of their conscience ; and yet to use the prayers for the king and royal family would have drawn inevitable destruction on them. The only course which they could pursue, to avoid both evils, was to suspend the public exercise of their function, and shut up their churches.

“ This, accordingly was done. It is very remarkable that, although the clergy of those provinces I have mentioned did not, and, indeed, could not, consult each other on this interesting occasion, yet they all fell upon the same method in shutting up their churches. The venerable Mr. Beach, of Connecticut, only is to be excepted, if my information be right, who officiated as usual after independency was declared, and, upon being warned of his danger, declared, with the firmness and spirit of a primitive confessor, ‘ That he would do his duty, preach and pray for the king, till the rebels cut out his tongue.’ All the churches in Connecticut, (Mr. Beach’s excepted, if the above account be true, and I had it from pretty good authority,) as well as those in this province, except in this city, Long Island, and Staten Island, where his Majesty’s arms have penetrated, are now shut up. This is also the case with every church in New Jersey ; and I am informed by a gentleman lately returned from Pennsylvania, who had been a prisoner there for some time, that the churches in the several Missions of that province are shut up, one or two excepted, where the prayers for the king and royal family are omitted. The churches in Philadelphia are open. How matters are circumstanced in the more southerly colonies, I cannot learn with

any certainty; only that the provincial convention of Virginia have taken upon themselves to publish an edict, by which some collects for the king are to be wholly omitted in the liturgy, and others altered, the word 'commonwealth' being substituted for the 'king.' For my part, I never expected much good of those clergy among them who opposed an American episcopate. If such should now renounce their allegiance, and abandon their duty, it is no more than what might naturally be looked for. There are, however, several worthy clergymen in those provinces, some of whom I hear have taken sanctuary in England, particularly from Maryland. This province, although the most loyal and peaceable of any on the continent, by a strange fatality is become the scene of war, and suffers most. This city, especially, has a double portion of the calamities brought on by the present rebellion; and perhaps a brief detail of our situation for some months past, may gratify curiosity, and convey to the Society the clearest idea of the state of things here. Upon General Howe's departure from Boston to Halifax, early in the last spring, the rebel army was drawn to this city, which they fortified in the best manner they could, expecting it would be attacked. Most of the inhabitants, warned by these symptoms of the gathering storm, moved into the country, and carried their valuable effects with them. Among others, I moved my family, consisting of a wife and three small children, seventy miles up Hudson's River, where they still remain, that part of the country being yet possessed by the rebels. Dr. Auchmuty, the rector, being much indisposed during the spring and summer, retired with his family to Brunswick, in New Jersey; and the care of the churches, in his absence, of course devolved on me, as the oldest assistant—a situation truly difficult and trying in such times, especially as the other assistants were young and inexperienced, though very loyal, and otherwise worthy young men.

"About the middle of April, Mr. Washington, commander-in-chief of the rebel forces, came to town with a large reinforcement. Animated by his presence, and, I suppose, encouraged by him, the rebel committees very much harassed the loyal inhabitants here and on Long Island. They were summoned before those committees, and, upon refusing to give up their arms and take the

oaths that were tendered, they were imprisoned or sent into banishment. An army was sent to Long Island to disarm the inhabitants who were distinguished for their loyalty. Many had their property destroyed, and more were carried off prisoners. It should be observed, that members of the Church of England were the only sufferers on this occasion. The members of the Dutch church are very numerous there, and many of them joined in opposing the rebellion; yet no notice was taken of them, nor the least injury done to them. About this time, Mr. Bloomer administered the sacrament at Newtown, where he had but four or five male communicants, the rest having been driven off, or carried away prisoners. At this present time, there are many hundreds from this city and province prisoners in New England; and among these the mayor of New York, several judges and members of his Majesty's council, with other respectable inhabitants.

"Soon after Washington's arrival, he attended our church; but on the Sunday morning, before divine service began, one of the rebel generals called at the rector's house, (supposing the latter was in town,) and, not finding him, left word that he came to inform the rector that 'General Washington would be at church, and would be glad if the violent prayers for the king and royal family were omitted.' This message was brought to me, and, as you may suppose, I paid no regard to it.

"On seeing that general not long after, I remonstrated against the unreasonableness of his request, which he must know the clergy could not comply with; and told him further, that it was in his power to shut up our churches, but by no means in his power to make 'the clergy depart from their duty.' This declaration drew from him an awkward apology for his conduct, which I believe was not authorized by Washington. Such incidents would not be worth mentioning, unless to give those who are at a distance a better idea of the spirit of the times.

"May 17th was appointed by the congress as a day of public fasting, prayer, and humiliation throughout the continent. At the unanimous request of the members of our Church who were then in town, I consented to preach that day; and, indeed, our situation made it highly prudent, though a submission to an

authority that was so far usurped was exceedingly grating and disagreeable. In giving notice the preceding Sunday, I only mentioned that there would be a sermon the ensuing Friday, which was the 17th, without saying anything of the reason, or by what authority. It was exceedingly difficult for a loyal clergyman to preach on such an occasion, and not incur danger on the one hand, or not depart from his duty on the other. I endeavoured to avoid both, making peace and repentance my subject, and explicitly disclaimed having anything to do with politics. This sermon, in the composition of which I took some pains, I intend to publish, for various reasons, should I be able to recover it from the place where it now is, with all my books and papers, in the country. The several churches in this province, (except two, where the clergymen thought they might without danger omit service,) and so far as I can learn, through all the thirteen united colonies, as they are called, were opened on this occasion.

“Matters became now critical here in the highest degree. The rebel army amounted to near 30,000. All their cannon and military stores were drawn hither, and they boasted that the place was impregnable. The mortifications and alarms which the clergy met with were innumerable. I have frequently heard myself called a Tory, and traitor to my country, as I passed the streets, and epithets joined to each, which decency forbids me to set down. Violent threats were thrown out against us, in case the king were any longer prayed for. One Sunday, when I was officiating, and had proceeded some length in the service, a company of about one hundred armed rebels marched into the church, with drums beating and fifes playing, their guns loaded and bayonets fixed, as if going to battle. The congregation was thrown into the utmost terror, and several women fainted, expecting a massacre was intended. I took no notice of them, and went on with the service, only exerted my voice, which was in some measure drowned by the noise and tumult. The rebels stood thus in the aisle for near fifteen minutes, till, being asked into pews by the sexton, they complied. Still, however, the people expected that, when the collects for the king and royal family were read, I should be fired at, as menaces to that purpose had been frequently flung out. The matter, however, passed over without any accident. Nothing

of this kind happened before or since, which made it more remarkable. I was afterwards assured that something hostile and violent was intended; but He that stills the raging of the sea, and madness of the people, overruled their purpose, whatever it was.

“ In the beginning of July, independency was declared : as this event was what I long expected, I had maturely considered, and was determined, what line of conduct to pursue. General Howe had arrived some time before from Halifax, as did Lord Howe from England. They had taken possession of Staten Island, where the fleet lay in sight of this city, at the distance of nine miles ; and only waited for the arrival of the fleet from England, to make a descent and reduce New York. This circumstance pointed out still more clearly what part I should act. However, I thought it was proper to consult such of the vestry as were in town, and others of the congregation, and have their concurrence ; and I must do them the justice to say, that they were all unanimous for shutting up the Churches ; and chose rather to submit to that temporary inconvenience, than, by omitting the prayers for the king, give that mark of disaffection to their sovereign. To have prayed for him, had been rash to the last degree—the inevitable consequence had been a demolition of the churches, and the destruction of all who frequented them. The whole rebel force was collected here, and the most violent partizans from all parts of the continent. A fine equestrian statue of the king was pulled down, and totally demolished, immediately after independency was declared. All the king’s arms, even those on signs of taverns, were destroyed. The committee sent me a message, which I esteemed a favour and indulgence, to have the king’s arms taken down in the church, or else the mob would do it, and might deface and injure the churches. I immediately complied. People were not at liberty to speak their sentiments, and even silence was construed as a mark of disaffection.

“ Things being thus situated, I shut up the churches. Even this was attended with great hazard ; for it was declaring, in the strongest manner, our disapprobation of independency, and that under the eye of Washington and his army. The other assistants now went to their respective friends in the country. My family

were at such a distance, and in such a part of the country, that I could not with any degree of safety visit them; I therefore remained in the city, to visit the sick, baptize children, bury the dead, and afford what support I could to the remains of our poor flock, who were much dispirited; for several, especially of the poorer sort, had it not in their power to leave the city. After we had ceased to officiate publicly, several of the rebel officers sent to me for the keys of the churches, that their chaplains might preach in them; with these requisitions I peremptorily refused to comply, and let them know that, 'if they would use the churches, they must break the gates and doors to get in.' Accordingly, I took possession of all the keys, lest the sextons might be tampered with; for I could not bear the thought that their seditious and rebellious effusions should be poured out in our churches. When those requisitions were repeated with threats, my answer was, 'that I did what I knew to be my duty, and that I would adhere to it, be the consequences what they would.' Upon this they desisted, and did not occupy any of the churches.

"I cannot reflect on my situation at that time, without the warmest emotions of gratitude to Divine Providence for preserving me. I was watched with a jealous, suspicious eye. Besides the imputation of being notoriously disaffected—an imputation which had flung others in jail without any other crime,—I was known and pointed at as the author of several pieces against the proceedings of the congress. In February last, I wrote an answer to a pamphlet entitled 'Common Sense,' which earnestly recommended and justified independency. It was one of the most virulent, artful, and pernicious pamphlets I ever met with, and perhaps the wit of man could not devise one better calculated to do mischief. It seduced thousands. At the risk, not only of my liberty, but also of my life, I drew up an answer, and had it printed here; but the answer was no sooner advertised, than the whole impression was seized by the sons of liberty, and burnt. I then sent a copy to Philadelphia, where it was printed, and soon went through the second edition. This answer was laid to my charge, and swelled the catalogue of my political transgressions. In short, I was in the utmost danger, and it is to the overruling hand of Providence that I attribute my deliverance and safety. With difficulty

I stood my ground till about the middle of August, when almost all who were suspected of disaffection were taken up and sent prisoners to New England: I therefore found it necessary to return to Flushing, on Long Island; but I had no sooner left that place, than the committee met, and entered into a debate about seizing me. This obliged me to shift my quarters, and keep as private as possible, till the 27th of that month, when General Howe defeated the rebels on Long Island, which set me and many others at liberty.

“On Sunday, the 15th of September, General Howe, with the king’s forces, landed on New York Island, four miles above the city; upon which the rebels abandoned the city, and retired toward King’s Bridge, which joins this island to the continent. Early on Monday morning, the 16th, I returned to the city, which exhibited a most melancholy appearance, being deserted and pillaged. My house was plundered of everything by the rebels. My loss amounts to near 200*l.* this currency, or upwards of 100*l.* sterling. The rebels carried off all the bells in the city, partly to convert them into cannon, partly to prevent notice being given speedily of the destruction they meditated against the city by fire, when it began. On Wednesday, I opened one of the churches, and solemnized Divine service, when all the inhabitants gladly attended, and joy was lighted up in every countenance on the restoration of our public worship; for very few remained but such as were members of our Church. Each congratulated himself and others on the prospect of returning peace and security; but alas! the enemies of peace were secretly working among us.

“Several rebels secreted themselves in the houses, to execute the diabolical purpose of destroying the city. On the Saturday following an opportunity presented itself; for the weather being very dry, and the wind blowing fresh, they set fire to the city in several places at the same time, between twelve and one o’clock in the morning. The fire raged with the utmost fury, and, in its destructive progress, consumed about 1000 houses, or a fourth part of the whole city. To the vigorous efforts of the officers of the army and navy, and of the soldiers and seamen, it is owing, under Providence, that the whole city was not destroyed. We

had three churches, of which Trinity Church was the oldest and largest. It was a venerable edifice, had an excellent organ, which cost 850*l.* sterling, and was otherwise ornamented. This church, with the rector's house and the charity school,—the two latter, large expensive buildings,—were burned. St. Paul's Church and King's College had shared the same fate, being directly on the line of fire, had I not been providentially on the spot, and sent a number of people with water on the roof of each. Our houses are all covered with cedar shingles, which makes fire very dangerous. The church corporation has suffered prodigiously, as was evidently intended. Besides the buildings already mentioned, about 200 houses, which stood on the church ground, were consumed; so that the loss cannot be estimated at less than 25,000*l.* sterling. This melancholy accident, and the principal scene of war being here, will occasion the Clergy of this city to be the greatest sufferers of any on the continent by the present rebellion.

“ The Church corporation have some thoughts of applying to his Majesty for a brief to collect money in England, or for leave to open a subscription to repair their loss in some measure, which, I fear, will involve them in inextricable difficulties, as they are already burdened with a debt of more than 20,000*l.* this currency. But this step will probably be deferred till the city and county are restored to his Majesty's peace and protection, which I hope will be soon, as a petition for this purpose, signed by near a thousand inhabitants, has been presented to the king's commissioners. I had the honour of drawing up this petition; and from the amiable and excellent character of the commissioners, Lord Howe and General Howe, from whom everything brave, generous, and humane, or tending to the interest of Great Britain, and the colonies, may be justly expected, I flatter myself that the prayers of our petition will be soon granted. Perhaps I should apologize for this detail, in which I myself was so much concerned; but, in truth, no better method occurred to me of conveying to you information of what I thought you were desirous to know; and I claim no merit in doing what I always conceived to be my duty. Any of my brethren in my situation would have done the same that I did—many of them, probably, much better.

“ All the Missionaries in the colonies first mentioned are resident on their respective Missions, although their churches are shut, except those that are now in England, and Mr. Walter, of Boston, who is here ; also Mr. Cooke, who is chaplain to the Guards, and cannot get to his Mission, as that part of the country is still in the hands of the rebels. I fear many of the Missionaries are distressed for want of an opportunity to draw for their salaries, and I apprehend they have not yet received any benefit from the generous collection that was made for them in England. Dr. Chandler some time since sent me a list of those Missionaries in New Jersey, New York, and Connecticut, that were to receive those benefactions, and the sum allotted to each ; desiring that I should give them notice, and inform them how to draw for the money. But I have not yet been able to give intelligence of this to any, except Messrs. Seabury, Bloomer, and Cutting—all communication by letter with the rest being entirely cut off. Dr. Chandler also kindly informed me, that the Society transmitted a large sum to Boston, to pay the Missionaries in Massachusetts and New Hampshire ; but I imagine General Howe left Boston before the money could get there ; and I have not been able to learn who the person was to whom the money was delivered, nor what is become of it. The Missions of New Windsor (or Newburgh, as it was latterly called) and of Albany are still vacant. Mr. Stuart continues at Fort Hunter, and occasionally officiates at Johnstown. He has been of much service in that place. The Indians under his care remain firm in their attachment to the king, except one or two that were bribed into a kind of neutrality, with rum and some other presents, by the rebels, but will, I doubt not, be as active as any for the king’s service, now that General Burgoyne has crossed the lakes from Canada with his army, and is got into this province. Upon the whole, the Church of England has lost none of its members by the rebellion as yet—none, I mean, whose departure from it can be deemed a loss ; on the contrary, its own members are more firmly attached to it than ever. And even the sober and more rational among dissenters—for they are not all equally violent and frantic—look with reverence and esteem on the part which Church people here have

acted. I have not a doubt but, with the blessing of Providence, his Majesty's arms will be successful, and finally crush this unnatural rebellion. In that case, if the steps are taken which reason, prudence, and common sense dictate, the Church will indubitably increase, and these confusions will terminate in a large accession to its members. Then will be the time to make that provision for the American Church which is necessary, and place it on at least an equal footing with other denominations by granting it an episcopate, and thereby allowing it a full toleration. If this opportunity is let slip, I think there is a moral certainty that such another will never again offer; and I must conclude, in that case, that Government is equally infatuated with the Americans at present. If fifty years elapse without any episcopate here, there will be no occasion for one afterwards; and to fix one then will be as impracticable as it would be useless. And I may appeal to all judicious persons, whether it is not as contrary to sound policy, as it certainly is to right reason and justice, that the king's loyal subjects here, members of the national Church, should be denied a privilege the want of which will discourage and diminish their numbers, and that merely to gratify the clamours of dissenters, who have now discovered such enmity to the constitution, and who will ever clamour against anything that will tend to benefit or increase the Church here. The time, indeed, is not yet fully come to move in this affair; but I apprehend it is not very distant, and, therefore, it should be thought of. Government will have it in its power very soon to settle this and other matters as may be judged expedient. The Clergy here will not be wanting in anything that is in their power towards the accomplishment of so desirable an object; and, in the meantime would be very glad to have the Society's advice and directions how to proceed. I may add, that the Society, taught by late experience, will be desirous of seeing the Church placed on a more respectable footing, and so far as I can judge, will join in such prudent measures as may be thought necessary, on their part, for the attainment of it.

"I shall not trespass further on your time and patience, by adding to this letter, which is swelled to an extraordinary length,

for which the interesting occasion and subject must be my apology, than to assure you, that I am, with the most perfect esteem and regard to yourself and the Venerable Society,

“ Reverend Sir,

“ Your affectionate and humble servant,

“ CHARLES INGLIS.

“ The Rev. Dr. Hind.”

“ P. S.—Since the above was written, Dr. Auchmuty is come to town, having, with great difficulty, escaped from the rebels at Brunswick.”¹

Such was the melancholy condition of affairs in 1776. The following year, in speaking of the Missionaries, Mr. Inglis says:—“ Matters are not mended with them, but grown worse. All the Missionaries in Connecticut are now either removed to a distant part of the province from their cures, and there detained, or else confined in their own houses: of this province, Mr. Seabury and Mr. Beardsly have been obliged to fly from their Missions—the first resides in this city, the second on Long Island. Mr. Browne and Mr. Odell, of New Jersey, have also taken sanctuary here.”

The death of Dr. Auchmuty, which happened about the same time, seems to have been hastened by the persecutions and hardships he underwent from the “ patriots.” He died on the 4th March, 1777; and, a fortnight afterwards the churchwardens and vestry met, and elected Mr. Inglis to succeed him as rector of Trinity Church.² He says—“ The rectory has come to me at a most difficult, critical period: our corporation is burdened with a heavy debt, and lost about 25,000*l.* by the fire in September.” In subsequent letters, he describes the vast increase of labour occasioned by the influx of refugees from all parts.

¹ Original Letters, vol. xix. l. 68.

² Ibid. l. 69.

In the midst of his trials, however, he continued steadfastly to discharge his pastoral duties, and applied his special attention to the school for negro children.

The rebellion had already driven nearly all the Clergy from their Missions: of those belonging to the southern colonies, some had gone to England, some had sought refuge in New York, and a few had taken the oath of allegiance to the republic. The majority of those who were dispossessed from the northern and eastern provinces were appointed to chaplaincies in the army or in the loyal militia. While almost annihilated in some places, the Church seems to have flourished in the midst of persecution in Connecticut,—and this Mr. Inglis attributed to the steady, consistent conduct of the Society's Missionaries, who continued patiently in their course of duty, preaching the unchangeable truths of the Gospel; while the dissenters, for the most part, substituted politics for religion. The result was, that, in general, the churches there were crowded, while many of the meeting-houses were very thinly attended.

The treaty of 1783 left the Clergy in great difficulty and embarrassment. The independence of the United States having now been formally acknowledged, it became incompatible with the designs of the Society, as expressed in its Charter, to continue the support of Missions which were no longer within the dominions or dependencies of the British Crown. In withdrawing, therefore, the aid, which it had so long afforded, from the independent colonies, the Society was acting under the compulsion of uncontrollable events; and the feelings with which those who superintended its affairs at that critical time took leave of the Missions, which the Society had sustained through so many years of weakness and difficulty, may be gathered

from the language of the Report for 1785:—"It is so far from their thoughts to alienate their affections from their brethren of the Church of England, now under another Government, that they look back with comfort at the good they have done, for many years past, in propagating our holy religion, as it is professed by the Established Church of England; and it is their earnest wish and prayer that their zeal may continue to bring forth the fruit they aimed at, of pure religion and virtue; and that the true members of our Church, under whatever civil government they live, may not cease to be kindly affectioned towards us." At the breaking out of the war the Society was contributing towards the maintenance of nearly eighty Missionaries, at an average little exceeding 40*l.* a year for each. But in proportion as the violence of party-feeling increased, the Clergy, against whom it was more especially directed, and who, with hardly an exception, remained unshaken in their allegiance to the King, were either driven from their parishes by actual force, or induced, for the safety of their families, to retire. The embarrassment and distress into which many of them were thus thrown may be imagined, and naturally excited the sympathy of their friends and brethren in England, by whom a subscription was set on foot for the relief of their present necessities. Some of the Clergy were eventually appointed to Chaplaincies in the King's army, others were provided with Missions in Canada, Nova Scotia, and New Brunswick, some went to England, whilst a few, who were recommended by long service, or disabled by age and infirmity, were allowed a small annuity by the Society. Of the Clergy thus scattered by the political storm, none suffered greater pecuniary loss than Dr. Inglis; for not only was his private estate confiscated, but he was com-

pelled also to abandon his rectory. In this strait, he first applied to the Society for permission to accompany some loyalists of his congregation to Annapolis, in Nova Scotia.¹

We cannot better conclude these few notices of the faithfulness and loyalty with which, for the most part, the Missionaries conducted themselves, amid trials and difficulties of no ordinary kind, than by citing the following testimony of the Bishop of Oxford (Butler) in his anniversary sermon before the Society in 1784:—

“But the most conspicuous mark of the prudent care of the Society has been exhibited in the choice of their Missionaries. If they have not all proved equally unexceptionable, every possible precaution has been used to admit none of evil report. The indispensable qualifications annexed to the annual abstract of our proceedings might serve to evince this, had not the Missionaries themselves, during the last seven or eight years, by their conduct and sufferings, borne abundant testimony to the attention and discernment of the Society.

“The characters of those worthies will entitle them to a lasting memorial in some future impartial history of the late events in that country. Their firm perseverance in their duty, amidst temptations, menaces, and in some cases cruelty, would have distinguished them as meritorious men in better times. In the present age, when persecution has tried the constancy of very few sufferers for conscience here, so *many* in *one* cause argue a larger portion of disinterested virtue still existing somewhere among mankind, than a severe observer of the world might be disposed to admit.”

And when the connexion between the colonies and the mother country had been finally severed by the acknowledgment of American Independence, it is gratifying to find that the important services rendered by the Society to the cause of religion and of the church in America were not forgotten.

¹ Original Letters, vol. xxiii. l. 23.

In an address, dated October 5, 1785, from the clerical and lay deputies of the Church, in sundry of the United States of America, to the Archbishops and Bishops of the Church of England, the following grateful acknowledgment is made :—

“ All the Bishops of England, with other distinguished characters, as well ecclesiastical as civil, have concurred in forming and carrying on the benevolent views of the Society for Propagating the Gospel in Foreign Parts ; a Society to whom, under God, the prosperity of our Church is, in an eminent degree, to be ascribed. It is our earnest wish to be permitted to make, through your lordships, this just acknowledgment to that venerable Society.”¹

¹ Note to Bishop Bagot's Sermon, 1790, p. 16.

CHAPTER XV.

NEWFOUNDLAND.

Discovery—Name—Area—Its Fishery—Lord Bacon's Patent—Lord Baltimore's Settlement—Finally ceded to England—First Report—Rev. Mr. Jackson—Rev. Jacob Rice—Rev. R. Killpatrick—Rev. Henry Jones—Rev. Mr. Peaseley—Rev. Edward Langman—Rev. Lawrence Coughlan—Rev. James Balfour—Gift of William the Fourth.

THIS island, the nearest to the mother country of all the Colonies of Great Britain, was discovered in 1497, by Sebastian Cabot, the celebrated Venetian navigator, who sailed from the port of Bristol under authority of letters patent, granted by King Henry the Seventh. To that projecting peninsula, on which the capital was afterwards built, Cabot gave the name of St. John's, because it was first seen on the festival of St. John Baptist (June 24). The island itself was called by the Venetian *Prima Vista*, but has never been known by any other than the descriptive English name of Newfoundland. Its extreme length is about 420 miles; its greatest width about 300. The area is computed at 36,000 square miles; and it is therefore somewhat larger than Ireland. The value of the newly-discovered country, as a fishing station, soon became known; for, in 1517, it was "stated by the crew of an English ship that they had left forty vessels,—Portuguese, French, and Spanish,—busily employed in the fishery."¹ In 1578 the English had fifty vessels engaged in the trade; but the Spaniards had no fewer than one hundred, besides twenty

¹ Edinburgh Cabinet Library; British America, vol. ii. p. 278.

or thirty whalers from Biscay ; and the French “had one hundred and fifty, though of smaller dimensions.”¹

After various unsuccessful attempts by private adventurers to form a settlement on the island, a patent was granted in 1610, by James I., to Lord Chancellor Bacon and others, conveying a grant of land for the purpose of securing the fishing trade. This scheme of colonization, however, seems to have met with no better success than those which had preceded it. In 1623, Lord Baltimore obtained the grant of a considerable tract of land, from Cape St. Mary to the Bay of Bulls, with the view of planting a body of his countrymen, who, professing like himself the Roman Catholic religion, might enjoy there its uninterrupted exercise ; and a few years later, Lord Falkland, as the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, engaged to send a colony from that country.

This history of the first settlement of the island, together with the constant immigration of Irish labourers, will account for the predominance of Roman Catholics in the population. For a long period the possession of Newfoundland was disputed by the French, but at the peace of Utrecht, in 1713, it was finally ceded to England.

The following short account of the state of the island at the commencement of the last century, occurs in the first Report of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, a report which bears date February 4th, 1704.

“ Newfoundland has several settlements of English, with many occasional inhabitants, as workers, mariners, &c., at the fishing seasons, to the amount of several thousands, but no public exercise of religion except at St. John’s, where there is a congregation, but unable to subsist a minister.”

It appears, however, that the Rev. Mr. Jackson, who

¹ Edinburgh Cabinet Library ; British America, vol. ii. p. 278.

had previously been maintained for a limited period at St. John's, by private subscription, was, in May 1703, adopted as a Missionary by the Society for three years, at a salary of £50.¹

In 1705, some merchants trading to Newfoundland waited upon the Society with a memorial, praying that two Missionaries might be appointed for St. John's; and undertaking that the people of the country should contribute to their support. The Rev. Jacob Rice was sent out about this time, by the Bishop of London.

In 1729, the inhabitants of Trinity Bay represented to the Society their earnest wish to have a Clergyman settled amongst them; pledging themselves to build a Church, and raise a salary of 30*l.* for the support of a minister. The Rev. Robert Killpatrick was accordingly sent to this station on a salary of 30*l.* per annum;² but after a residence of some months, receiving but very inconsiderable contributions from the people, and being unable to subsist upon the allowance of the Society, he requested to be transferred to some other Mission, and was consequently sent to New Windsor, in the colony of New York. So far, however, was his condition from being improved by the change, that he was glad to return to his first Mission; for in New Windsor he could meet with no one who would give him a lodging on any terms. On his way back, he was detained three months at Placentia, where he preached six Sundays, and baptized ten children. He describes the settlement as in great want of a Clergyman, for the inhabitants were regardless of all religion, and a great many of them abandoned to infidelity.³

Mr. Killpatrick was welcomed back to the Bay in 1734, with much joy, and found a numerous congregation. He

¹ Journal, vol. i. p. 107.

² Ibid. vol. v. p. 255.

³ Report for 1734.

occasionally visited Old Perlican, ten leagues distant, where he had about 200 hearers.

Being under the necessity of coming to England in 1737, he brought a letter signed on behalf of the justices of the peace, churchwardens, and inhabitants of Trinity Bay, in which they “gratefully and humbly thanked the Society for their great favour in sending a Missionary to be their spiritual director according to the usage of the Church of England.”¹ Commodore Temple West wrote also on the same occasion to the Bishop of London, to say, that as he had the honour of commanding one of His Majesty’s ships on the station, he took the liberty of representing the condition of the Clergyman residing at Trinity, whom he characterises “in one word, the most comprehensive of all others, as a good Christian.”²

Mr. Killpatrick continued, after this, to labour in his Mission for a space of four years; the average number of his congregation in the summer being 250, many of whom were converts from a profane life. He died in August, 1741.

In January, 1726, the Bishop of London laid before the Society a letter which he had received from the Rev. Henry Jones, a clergyman settled at Bonavista, stating that he officiated in that place, and had established a school; on which the Society agreed to make him a gratuity of £30, and to send over to him 5*l.* worth of Common Prayer Books and Catechisms.³ A similar gratuity was afterwards annually voted. In 1730 he reported that his Church was nearly completed, and that a gentleman of London had presented to it “a set of vessels for the Communion, and a handsome stone font.” In 1734 he informed the Society that his congregation was in a flourishing condition, and

¹ Journal, vol. vii. p. 202.

² Ibid.

³ Ibid. vol. v. p. 76.

the number of his communicants increasing. Since his first coming to that settlement, he had baptized 114 persons, of whom five were adults;¹ and he continued to labour steadily in the same Mission till the year 1741, when, on the death of Mr. Killpatrick, he was transferred to Trinity Bay, but with instructions to render what service he could to his old flock at Bonavista. In this, however, he was soon relieved by the appointment of the Rev. Mr. Peaseley, a Graduate of Trinity College, Dublin. Mr. Jones continued six years at Trinity Bay, where, during the summer season, the number of residents was about 600; but, finding the winters too severe for his constitution, he asked leave, after twenty-five years' service, to be sent to a warmer climate, and was accordingly appointed to a Mission in the Moskito Country.

His successor in the Mission of Bonavista, Mr. Peaseley, remained there but a short time; being transferred to St. John's, in compliance with a petition from the inhabitants, who alleged that they had purchased a house for the Missionary, and bound themselves to an annual payment of forty pounds. In his letter, dated November 1, 1745, he says, that the congregation, which was large on his arrival, continued to increase, insomuch that the Church could scarcely contain it. Besides attending to his own flock at St. John's, Mr. Peaseley was in the habit of making periodical visits during the summer to Petty Harbour.

His allowance from the people, notwithstanding their pledge to the Society, was either not kept up, or very irregularly paid; and in consequence of the embarrassments into which he was on this account not unfrequently thrown, Mr. Peaseley was, on his own petition,

¹ Journal, vol. vi. p. 213.

removed, in 1750, to the Mission of St. Helen's, South Carolina.

The next Missionary of St. John's and the Out-Harbours, was the Rev. Edward Langman, of Balliol College, Oxford, appointed at the request of the inhabitants, among whom he had already been residing some time, and who were, therefore, well able to appreciate the value of his services. On his return thither to take possession of his cure in 1752, he reported that the congregation was numerous, and the number of communicants thirty. Of one hundred families, which, exclusive of the garrison, formed the entire population of the town, forty were of the communion of the Church of England, fifty-two Roman Catholic, and eight Dissenters.

In 1759 he undertook a Missionary voyage to Placentia, where he remained a month ministering to a congregation of sixty or seventy fishermen, and performing the several offices of the Church. During this visit, he baptized fifty persons, some of them forty, some thirty, some twenty years of age,—and fifteen infants. The next summer he paid a similar Missionary visit to the harbour of the South East.

The following Ecclesiastical returns of the population in those settlements, almost a hundred years ago, may be interesting, at least in the country itself. Mr. Langman found in Reneuse twenty-five families, of which nine were Protestant, and sixteen Irish Romanists, the whole population amounting to one hundred and forty. In Fermeuse nearly the whole population, amounting to one hundred, were Roman Catholic. In Ferryland there were sixty-four Protestants, and eighty-six Roman Catholics. In this visit he baptized thirty-eight children, and distributed copies of the Bible, Book of Common Prayer, and Catechism.¹

¹ Journal, vol. xv. p. 49.

At St. John's he was in the habit of catechising the children in the face of the congregation, every Wednesday and Friday, during the season of Lent, and frequently read one of the Homilies, with which the people seemed well pleased.

In 1761 he continued his course of Missionary visits, and found in the Bay of Bulls forty-five families, of which thirty-seven were Roman Catholics from Ireland, the remainder Protestant. The eleven families resident in Whittlass Bay were almost all Irish.

The following year the town and garrison of St. John's were taken by the French, and a general plunder ensued, by which Mr. Langman was a great sufferer.¹ But independently of these losses, which he computes at 130%, his position at St. John's must have been a very hard one. The allowance of 50% a-year, granted to him by the Society, was obviously insufficient for the decent support of a married man. A house, though promised, had never been provided for him by his congregation; and so niggardly or inconsiderate were they, that, even for the little gratuities which he received, he was compelled "to go and beg, as a poor man would for an alms."² On more than one occasion he refers with satisfaction to the absence of religious strife, and to the fact that several families of Dissenters were in the habit of joining in the public worship of the Church, and of receiving the Holy Communion. He continued to discharge the same laborious duties, till his death in 1783.

In 1766, the Rev. Lawrence Coughlan submitted to the Society a memorial from the inhabitants of Harbour Grace and Carbonear, praying that he, having for some time been resident among them, might be appointed their Missionary,

¹ Journal, vol. xv. p. 249.

² Original Letters, vol. xxii. l. 36.

and offering a salary of 50*l.* towards his maintenance. Mr. Coughlan was accordingly nominated to this Mission. He had no sooner arrived, than he proceeded to establish a school for the education of poor children. In 1769, he reported, that he had the satisfaction of observing, that “drunkenness, swearing, and sabbath-breaking,” had become much less frequent since his arrival, and that his congregations were very numerous, including many Irish Roman Catholics, as he was able to preach in the Irish language.

The Rev. James Balfour went as Missionary to Trinity Bay, with the outharbours of Old and New Perlican and Bonaventure, in 1765. In acknowledgment of his services, the parishioners, soon after his arrival, built him a house ; but after nine years spent in this Mission, which was not less than forty leagues in circuit, he was removed to the more important station of Harbour Grace, vacant by the resignation of Mr. Coughlan, in 1773. In a letter, dated 1778, he reports, that the population of this settlement consisted of 4,462 Protestants, and 1,306 Roman Catholics. The number of communicants varied from 150 to 200.

In 1787, a memorial from the principal inhabitants of Placentia was laid before the Society, setting forth the great want of a clergyman in that settlement, and their willingness to contribute to his support. This application deserves more especially to be noted, as it was recommended by His late Majesty King William IV., who was, at the time, in command of the *Pegasus*, on that station, and had given the sum of fifty guineas towards the erection of the church ; to which, also, he presented a handsome set of vessels, which are still used at the celebration of the Holy Communion.

CHAPTER XVI.

NOVA SCOTIA.

Ceded to Great Britain—Settlers sent out by Board of Trade—Grants to Clergymen and Schoolmasters—Rev. W. Tutty—Rev. M. Moreau—Rev. Mr. Burger—Rev. P. Bryzelius—Rev. R. Vincent—Rev. P. De la Roche—Scarcity and Distress—Rev. T. Wood—Visit to Indian Tribes—Rev. J. Bennet, Coast Missionary—Rev. W. Ellis—Rev. J. Eagleson—Difference of Language and of Forms of Worship—A public Seminary at Windsor recommended—Rev. John Breynton—Statistics of Halifax—Influx of Refugees from the States—Ejected Missionaries appointed to Nova Scotia—Bishop of Oxford's allusion to them.

NOVA SCOTIA, after having been occupied by the English and French alternately, for more than a century, was finally ceded to Great Britain, in 1713,¹ at the close of the war of the Spanish succession. But we shall at once proceed to the period when the first Mission was established.

In April, 1749, the Society received a communication from the Board of Trade and Plantations, to the effect that His Majesty had determined to send out a body of settlers to the province of Nova Scotia; and the Commissioners further stated, that it was proposed to settle these persons in six townships, in each of which a site for a church would be given, and 400 acres of land adjacent thereto be granted in perpetuity to a minister and his successors, and 200 acres, in like manner, to a schoolmaster. Other liberal advantages were offered, and the Society was solicited to name

¹ Haliburton's History of Nova Scotia, vol. i. p. 91.

a clergyman and a schoolmaster for each of the said townships. The letter in which this wise and Christian scheme of colonization is proposed, will be found in the Appendix.¹ The Society determined to act at once upon the recommendation of the Lords Commissioners, and undertook on its part to appoint six Missionaries, and as many schoolmasters, according as the settlements were formed. In consequence of a statement in the letter of the Commissioners, that, with the exception of the garrison of Annapolis, all the inhabitants of Nova Scotia, amounting to 20,000, were French Roman Catholics, who were supplied with a great number of priests, under the jurisdiction of the French Bishop of Quebec, the Society urged, in reply to the Commissioners, the importance of setting apart land for the support of a Bishop of the Church of England; and expressed a hope that they would second the application which, at various times, had been made by the Society, for the appointment of Bishops in the American Colonies.

The first Missionary appointed under this arrangement was the Rev. William Tutty, of Emmanuel College, Cambridge, who went to the principal settlement of Cheducto, now named Halifax, from the nobleman who, as first Lord Commissioner of the Board of Trade, directed the settlement of the New Colony. Mr. Tutty was for some time compelled to officiate in the open air; but it was not long before a church (St. Paul's) was built, in which he preached his first sermon, September 2, 1750.² He reports in 1752, that he had persuaded his German parishioners, both Lutheran and Calvinist, to conform to the Church of England, and had frequently administered the Holy Communion to them—several times to more than 100

¹ See Appendix, E.

² Original Letters, vol. xi. l. 4.

at once. He computed the entire population at about 6,000; and those who professed themselves members of the Church of England at 3,000: the actual communicants were between 500 and 600.¹ At his earnest request, and on the strong recommendation of others, M. Moreau, a Roman Catholic priest, and formerly Prior of the Abbey of St. Matthew, near Brest, who had been received into communion with the Church of England, was appointed to minister to his own countrymen. But another body of settlers, who had come from Germany, required a pastor who could minister to them in their own tongue; and the Society was fortunate enough to find in Mr. Burger, a Swiss minister who had taken great pains to commend our Liturgy to his people, and who was desirous of ordination; a person well qualified for this duty, to which he was accordingly ordained.

In 1752, M. Moreau reported that 500 Protestants of the Confession of Augsburgh, recently arrived in Nova Scotia from Montbelliard, had joined themselves to the Church of England, and desired to partake of the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper. They received copies of the Book of Common Prayer in French with the greatest satisfaction, which they showed by kissing the books, and M. Moreau's hand as he distributed them. His congregation consisted of 800 adults, and 200 children.

The next year M. Moreau and the great body of Germans and French, with some few English, making in all a company of 1,600 persons, migrated from Halifax to Lunenburg, where they assembled every Sunday for Divine Service, on the parade; and more than 200 Germans and French were regular communicants. M. Moreau continued his useful labours, ministering in three languages to his

¹ Original Letters, vol. xiii. l. 5.

several congregations, and extending his care also to the Indians, several of whose children he baptized, till the year 1770, when he died.

Mr. Bryzelius, a Lutheran minister, having been strongly recommended as Missionary to the Germans of Lunenburg, was ordained by the Bishop of London to that charge, in 1767. He was received with the greatest delight by his countrymen; in proof of which, Lieut.-Governor Francklin sent home a letter addressed to himself, by the oldest magistrate in the place, in which, speaking of the new Missionary, he says: "It is scarce to be expressed how much our people are satisfied with his behaviour and his preaching. He has given them, last Sunday and Monday, most excellent sermons, insomuch that most of the people were shedding tears. The breastwork of the upper galleries was in danger to break down, on account of so many people."¹

Chief Justice Belcher described the success of the Missionary among the young as surpassing the warmest hopes. At Easter, 1768, he brought 46 of them for the first time to the Holy Communion. Every Sunday he performed service in English at 10, in French at 12, and in German at 2. At his request a large supply of Prayer-books in the German language was sent by the Society for the use of his congregation. The labours of this useful Missionary were brought to an early and sudden termination; for, while preaching on Good Friday, 1773, he was struck with apoplexy, and died almost immediately.²

Two more names remain to be mentioned in connexion with this Mission. The Rev. R. Vincent officiated there from 1762 to 1765, in the double capacity of missionary and schoolmaster, and earned so high a character by his devoted

¹ MS. Letter, June 9, 1767.

² Report, 1774, p. 18.

attention to his duties, that Mr. Breynton, of Halifax, after reporting his death, says, Oct. 11, 1765: "It would be injustice to him not to assure you, that while his health permitted, no one showed more zeal or assiduity in his functions, and I am of opinion that his persevering in his duty, even beyond his strength, has shortened his days." And Chief Justice Belcher refers to him in terms almost of affection. "I sincerely lament," he says, "the Society's and the Province's, as well as my own loss, in the decease of so able and prudent a Minister in the Mission, and so worthy a friend. His pious labours at Lunenburg, under the circumstances of that settlement, were more successful than could have been expected from such difference in language, manners, and religious principles. Mr. Vincent's congregation was numerous, constant, and attentive, through his indefatigable application, and moderate conduct in the course of his Mission."

The Rev. Peter De la Roche was ordained to the cure of Lunenburg in 1771, and most affectionately received there. He was, however, much discouraged at the first aspect presented by the affairs of the Church in that settlement. A large body of Germans had separated themselves, and the Lutherans and Calvinists had built each their separate meeting-houses, while many of the English seemed to be attached by no stronger tie than their pecuniary interest, and because they had nothing to pay for the expense of the Church or the support of the Clergymen. The schools, too, were in an inefficient state. Gradually, however, he was enabled to effect some improvements.

In 1773, he prevailed upon his congregation to build a school for the French, and to make a yearly allowance to

¹ MS. Letter, Jan. 27, 1766.

the master, M. Bailly, of forty bushels of grain, and twenty-four cords of wood. He applied himself, also, with great diligence, to the study of the German, and, by 1775, had qualified himself to preach in that language, so that now he undertook to officiate thrice on the Sunday in three different languages, without expecting or desiring, as he said, "any other reward than the approbation of his superiors upon earth, and mercy from his Father above."¹ But even in this labour of love he was vexed and harassed by the petty jealousies of his people, each class considering itself entitled to a larger share of his services. Still the good which he was the instrument of effecting could not have been inconsiderable; for at Easter the number of his communicants was 120 Germans, 50 French, and 30 English. So highly did the Society approve of this disinterested conduct of M. De la Roche, that they entered upon their minutes a resolution expressive of the great satisfaction which they had received from their faithful Missionary's zeal and diligence in his profession.²

One, somewhat novel, mode which he adopted for communicating religious instruction, was the publishing weekly in the Gazette a commentary on the four Gospels, "not with a view to profit, but for the benefit of the unlearned in that province."³

His zeal for the good of his flock won for him their praise and esteem, but, as he painfully discovered during the times of scarcity and high prices, occasioned by the war and the rush of emigrants to Nova Scotia, did not induce them to make provision for his wants. In 1778, he says: "*Food* I have but barely; as to *raiment*, I have it not. . . . I am in great distress, for I receive no additional benefits from the people here; they confer already too

¹ Journal, vol. xx. p. 298. ² Report, 1775, p. 19. ³ Ibid. 1779, p. 295.

great a favour, in their own sense of the matter, on a Church of England minister, to countenance him by their keeping to the Church." After remaining a few years more in this Mission he was removed to Guysborough.

When Mr. Tutty, who seems to have been a diligent and conscientious Missionary, was called away from his labours by death, after a service of four years, the Rev. T. Wood, heretofore a Missionary in New Jersey, was appointed to succeed him. In the absence of any settled Clergyman at East and West Falmouth, Cornwallis, Horton, Granville, and Annapolis (although the last-named township is 150 miles from Halifax), Mr. Wood went twice to them during the year 1762, and was most gratefully welcomed by the inhabitants. He mentions, that in the same year he had attended, during an illness of several weeks, the Vicar-General of Quebec, M. Maillard; that the day before his death he had, at his request, read the Office for the Visitation of the Sick; and that, finally, he had performed over his remains the funeral service according to the ritual of the Church of England.¹

The following year, with the consent of the Governor and of the Churchwardens and Vestry of St. Paul's, Mr. Wood was removed to *Annapolis*, as Port Royal had been named in compliment to her Majesty, Queen Anne. He immediately applied himself to the study of the Micmac language, in which he had no other assistance than what could be derived from some papers of M. Maillard. Still he resolved to persevere till he should be able to publish a grammar, a dictionary, and a translation of the Bible. "I am fully determined," he says, "that nothing but sickness, or the Bastille at Paris, shall impede me in this useful service."² In 1766, he sent home the first volume

¹ MS. Letter, Oct. 27, 1762.

² MS. Letter, July 30, 1764.

of his native grammar, with a Micmac translation of the Creed, Lord's Prayer, &c., and was now able to minister to the Indians in their own language.

In 1769, he complied with the desire of the Governor, by making a missionary tour among the settlements on the St. John's River, New Brunswick. On his arrival at Okpaak, the most distant Indian settlement, he was received by the chief, who handed him out of the boat; and immediately several of the Indians, who were drawn out on the occasion, discharged a volley of musketry, and invited him and Captain Spry, by whom he was accompanied, "to their council chamber," as they called it; viz., their largest *ouigoum*, or wigwam." Mr. Wood, at their desire, offered up some prayers in the Micmac language, which is understood by the three tribes of the province, the Micmacs, the Marashites, and the Carribous. During the prayers they all knelt and behaved themselves very devoutly: the service concluded with an anthem and the blessing.¹

It has been already stated, that even while resident at Halifax, Mr. Wood paid occasional visits to Grandville. These visits were of course much more frequent after he had become settled at Annapolis, though still the distance was considerable. The results of this laborious service were strikingly manifested in 1771, when the inhabitants of the two townships addressed an invitation to the Rev. Mr. Clarke, the Missionary at Dedham, Massachusetts, to come and settle amongst them, promising, at the same time, to contribute towards his support. They stated that the greater part of them had "been educated and brought up in the congregational way of worship, and therefore should have chosen to have a minister of that form of

¹ MS. Letter, July 29, 1769.

worship, but that the Rev. Mr. Wood, by his preaching and performing the other offices of his holy function occasionally amongst us in the several districts of this country, hath removed our former prejudices that we had against the forms of worship of the Church of England as by law established, and hath won us to a good opinion thereof, inasmuch as he hath removed all our scruples of receiving the holy sacrament of the Lord's Supper in that form of administering it; at least many of us are now communicants with him, and we trust and believe many more will soon be added."

The proposed arrangement, however, was not carried into effect, and Mr. Wood remained in charge of both places.

In 1775, he was able to present the following very satisfactory report of the progress of the Church in his Mission:—"My congregations are greatly increased, both here and at Grandville, partly by several English farmers who came here last summer, and have bought farms, and are now settled with their families in our county of Annapolis; and also by great numbers who came here dissenters from New England, but now flock to my congregations, insomuch that our places of public worship will not contain them; and the inhabitants of Annapolis have most cheerfully subscribed 160*l.* towards building a Church, 60 feet by 40, in this town, which is actually begun, and we expect will be enclosed in four months' time; and my parishioners in Grandville are following the same laudable example, and say they will immediately begin to build a Church there also, and are actually now at work in preparing the timbers for it, and will have it inclosed before the next summer is ended. . . . I have now several persons who came here dissenters, communicants at the Lord's

Supper, and do baptize their children, and have, within a few years past, baptized several whole families of them.”¹ He was, however, now beginning to feel the effects of age and infirmity. He had laboured faithfully, and with success, as far as we can judge, for a period of thirty years; and he died at his post in Annapolis on the 14th December, 1778.²

The Rev. Joseph Bennet was the first Missionary sent specially to take charge of the long-neglected townships of Horton, Cornwallis, Falmouth, and Newport. At the time of his arrival at Fort Edward, in January 1763, the total population of the four places was 1717; but there was neither church nor school in any of them, and the people were consequently in a lamentable state of ignorance. His practice was to visit, in order, the various places within his Mission, officiating at Horton in the Town-hall, and in the other stations in private houses; and he states that, in the discharge of his laborious duty, he had to ride about 200 miles a month, besides having several rivers to cross.³ It is not surprising, if we consider the long neglect of the Church, and the present very inadequate supply of its ordinances, either that the dissenters were very numerous in the Mission, or that little distinction seemed to be made by the people between the ministrations of Clergymen and those of unauthorized teachers. Without a Bishop, and therefore without consecration of their Churches, or confirmation of their Catechumens, some of the distinctive features of the Church were effaced, and in the eyes of many it became confounded with surrounding sects.

Thus Mr. Bennet writes, April 18, 1771:—“We have got a small Chapel at Windsor, which answers for a

¹ MS. Letter, April 4, 1775.

² Journal, vol. xxi. p. 452.

³ MS. Letter, Sept. 18, 1764.

Church for me, for a Meeting-house whenever a Dissenting Minister happens to come that way in my absence, and for a school-house on week days. It was built by subscription of the inhabitants indiscriminately, Churchmen and Dissenters, according to their abilities."

He reports at the same time that a small Church had been built at Cornwallis, by two gentlemen, at their own expense.

In 1775, he visited many of the harbours along the coast, east from Halifax, and baptized both infants and adults. He had also some conferences with the Indians, whom he assured of the interest which was felt, both in their temporal and spiritual state, by the Church and the Government.

Mr. Bennet repeated his Missionary cruise during the summer months of the following year; during which he baptized, along the coast, thirty children and six adults, and administered the Holy Communion at Tatmagouche to twenty-eight communicants. Besides the many hardships he had to undergo in his voyage along the coast, Mr. Bennet was in constant danger of being taken by the privateers, and had the misfortune to lose his schooner, which was wrecked, but without loss of life. Almost incessant labour and anxiety seem to have affected Mr. Bennet both in body and mind: and, in 1781, the principal inhabitants of Windsor, headed by Michael Franklin, Esq. member of the Council, addressed the Society in his favour. The ruin of his health and constitution, they "attribute entirely to his indefatigable endeavours and unwearied exertions to perform the duties of his Mission." They state of their own knowledge, that he had "regularly attended four, and, part of the time, five different towns, some of which were twenty-five miles distant from Windsor,

where he chiefly resided;" that "none of those towns could he come at, but by passing dangerous fords, almost entirely through woods; and that his zeal to promote the established religion in those new settled countries, abounding with all sorts of sectaries, made him remarkably assiduous to convert those wandering people, who, not being able to maintain preachers of their own, were thus often induced to join in the public worship of the Church of England." The memorial then proceeds to speak of the fatigue and risk which he encountered "in going into all the numerous bays, harbours, creeks, and rivers," along the coast; and of his forcing his way to some of the settlements through the wilderness, when the American privateers rendered a passage by water impracticable. In the preceding year he succeeded in getting to Tatmagouche and Pictou; but in returning lost his way, and was detained a whole night alone in the woods. "The horror of this hopeless and dismal situation is supposed to have affected his understanding, as it certainly did his health."¹ On this representation Mr. Bennet, though disabled from performing any duty, was continued on the Society's list of Missionaries at a reduced salary.

On the death of Mr. Bryzelius, it was determined to discontinue the German Mission, and in lieu thereof to maintain an itinerant Missionary. Mr. William Ellis was the person selected, and having been ordained by the Bishop of London, he embarked for Nova Scotia in 1774. In his voyage out, the small-pox—then so much and so justly dreaded by the Americans—broke out in the ship, which was ordered from Boston to Salem, and back again to Boston, without being allowed to land its passengers at either port. Mr. Ellis and his wife ultimately

¹ Journal, vol. xxii. pp. 261—3.

made their way in a boat to the Quarantine Island, whence, having complied with the regulations, they proceeded to Boston; but "must have lain in the street, had not an old woman, tempted by their money, given them a lodging."

With some difficulty they contrived to get to Salem, where they were shunned as a pestilence, and yet could not proceed to Halifax, as the master of the vessel, about to sail thither, was not permitted to take them aboard. So they were condemned to remain at Salem, in a very "comfortless solitude," till the ensuing spring.¹

The destination of Mr. Ellis was changed soon after his arrival in the colony, and an arrangement made, by which he was sent to Windsor, for the charge of the neighbouring townships, while Mr. Bennet undertook the duty of visiting along the coast. In his letter of September 14, 1776, Mr. Bennet states, that he "found the lower orders of the people, nearly to a man, Presbyterians or fanatics; many of the better sort indifferent to all religion, and a few gentlemen's families well affected to the Church." This sad condition of things he attributed to the unmanageable size of the Mission.

The Church at Windsor was not only open for the services of Dissenters, but was used for secular purposes also. At Falmouth the congregation met in the "Tavern kitchen," while at Newport service was performed in a private house, Mr. Ellis carrying a Prayer-book with him, and borrowing a Bible for the occasion. His congregation, however, which comprehended persons of various sectarian denominations, was numerous; and he reported the total number of communicants within the Mission to be ninety.

Three years later his report was more favourable. The people of Cornwallis, now numbering 1,000, were in general

¹ Journal, vol. xv. p. 269.

well affected towards the Church, and anxious to have a resident Clergyman. Of Horton he could not give a good account; but the settlers at Falmouth and Newport attended Divine service regularly; and at Windsor, he says, "The Dissenting interest declines beyond my expectation, all bitterness is entirely over, and, although some still profess themselves Dissenters, they are often at Church, and, which is more, send their children regularly to Catechism, which is every Sunday evening that I am at Windsor, in the Church." Among his baptisms (fifty-six in 1779) he specified a negro man and an Indian youth.¹

Mr. Eagleson, who had been brought up in the Kirk of Scotland, and had for some time been engaged as a minister at Cumberland, was strongly recommended to the Society by Mr. Breynton, as likely to prove a valuable acquisition, since he was about to quit his former profession, not "through disgust, quarrel, or any sinister motive, but from real conviction and regard for the ordination, doctrines, and discipline of the Church of England."² Mr. Eagleson was also recommended, in very flattering terms, by Chief-Justice Belcher, and by Lieut.-Governor Franklin, who spoke of him as well qualified to undertake the Mission of Cumberland, where, though the population amounted to 1,100, there "was no Clergyman or teacher of any sort." He was, accordingly, on the Society's presentation, ordained by the Bishop of London, and appointed to the charge of Cumberland. Before settling there, however, he was directed by the Governor to visit the island of St. John, (since called Prince Edward Island,) and he did not arrive at Fort Cumberland till 1770, when he found the people had been so little accustomed to the use of the Book of Common

¹ MS. Letter, August 9, 1779.

² Journal, vol. xvii. p. 400.

Prayer, that they were at a loss to find the Collects, or join in the responses. He had, however, a considerable congregation, and "several Dissenters attended with great gravity and decorum."¹ Succeeding reports evince the growth of religious feeling, and a greater attachment to the Church. But this progress was seriously checked by the lawless spirit of the times. In 1778, the garrison of Fort Cumberland was besieged, and Mr. Eagleson was taken prisoner and carried off to New England, where he was confined for sixteen months; at the expiration of which time he succeeded in effecting his escape, and returned to his home, which he found plundered of everything of value, including, what he most lamented, his library.² Here, however, he remained in the discharge of his duty, up to the year 1781, when he received private intelligence of a plan laid by the Cumberland rebels, once more to surprise and carry him off to New England. Having already experienced their mode of treatment, he thought it wisest to leave the neighbourhood; and accordingly, while yet the snow was two feet and a half deep upon the mountains, he set off with a pilot, to make his way, through the woods, to Halifax, enduring fatigue of which "he cares not to speak."³

One main obstacle to the progress of the Church in Nova Scotia, was the variety of people by whom it was colonised. The French and Germans introduced not only the embarrassment arising from difference of language, but also the additional one of a different form of worship.

This difference of language and creed—to say nothing of the hostility of the English sects—rendered the task of the missionary a very arduous one, as is shown by reference to the case of Lunenburg. But it was almost impossible,

¹ Journal, vol. xviii. p. 465. ² Ibid. vol. xxi. p. 330. ³ Ibid. vol. xxii. p. 259.

under the circumstances, to provide efficient schoolmasters—for rarely could any one be found, possessed of the requisite qualifications, to offer his services for a remuneration so miserably insufficient. The Corresponding Committee, therefore, at their meeting of October 5, 1770, recommended that the salaries of the schoolmasters should be discontinued, and that the amount thus saved should be applied to the endowment of a public seminary, which would be of great benefit to the rising generation of the Province. The Committee, after noticing the obvious objections to such a college being established in the capital, recommended that it should be fixed at Windsor. The Society did not, indeed, consider it right to break up the existing schools, with a view to the adoption of the proposed scheme; but the minute of the Committee deserves to be recorded, as suggesting, probably for the first time, what has since been happily carried into execution—the foundation of a Collegiate School and University at Windsor.

A Missionary whose name has already been incidentally mentioned, but who, for his long and faithful services, deserves honourable notice, the Rev. John Breynton, was sent to Halifax in 1752. He soon established a school, in which fifty orphans, besides other children, were very diligently instructed by a religious soldier, named Ralph Sharrock. The duties of the Mission at this period were considerably increased by the presence of a large number of troops and seamen, who introduced the small-pox, and other contagious disorders, into the city; and Mr. Breynton writes, in 1757, that there were never less than eight funerals a-day.¹ The Indians who were to be found in the villages round Halifax, had, for the most part, been brought by the French priests to profess them-

¹ Journal, vol. xiv. p. 40.

selves of the Church of Rome; but as soon as the French Acadians had been removed into the interior, Mr. Breynton exerted himself, and wrote to the Society to provide them with religious instruction by settling a Missionary amongst them. Indeed he appears to have applied himself zealously to the discharge of every portion of his duty; and Jonathan Belcher, Esq., the President of the Council, speaks in the highest terms of his “indefatigable labours.”¹ His report for 1765 supplies the following statistical summary, which is exclusive of the army and navy:—

Inhabitants in and about Halifax	1,300
Members of the Church of England	950
Protestant Dissenters	350

The number of English communicants was 95, besides 60 German and French.²

The faithful but unobtrusive performance of his duty by a settled Missionary, though full of the most important consequences, presents few events of historical interest. But the warm and unanimous testimony which all who were acquainted with Mr. Breynton gave to his zealous exertions, as well as to his exemplary character, leaves us no room to doubt that his ministry at Halifax was of the greatest benefit to the people.

The Corresponding Committee of the Society at Halifax, consisting of his Excellency Lord William Campbell the Governor, Chief Justice Belcher, and Mr. Bulkeley the Secretary of Government, at a meeting held 7th February, 1770, signified to him their “entire approbation of his constant vigilance and prudent care in promoting the designs of the venerable Society in this province, and expressed their sense of the progress and happy effects of Mr.

¹ MS. Letter, Nov. 12, 1764.

² MS. Letter, Oct. 11, 1765.

Breynton's labours in his parish church of Halifax, as well from his parochial care in visiting his parishioners, as from his respected life and doctrines." His returns for this year state, that out of a population of 5000, including the army and fishermen, 4500 were in outward conformity with the Church of England.

The Corresponding Committee, entertaining so high an opinion of his merits and services, communicated to the Society their opinion, that the honorary degree of D. D. should be conferred upon him; and Mr. Bennet took occasion of his absence to inform the Society, that he "never knew a man so universally regretted by every individual of all denominations."

No sooner had the civil war broken out in America than its effects were felt in the neighbouring Colonies. At the close of the year 1775, many of the wealthier among the loyalist families of New England sought refuge in Halifax. This was an opportunity of which Mr. Breynton gladly availed himself to prove his effectual sympathy for the exiles. He says, that although many of them were dissenters, yet they constantly attended the services of the Church.¹

In a letter of a year's later date he reports the landing of another body of refugees. "There is no describing the hurry, confusion, and expense that attended the arrival of the fleet and army, and about 1700 of loyalists from Boston. No exertions were wanting on the part of our inhabitants to accommodate that immense concourse, and I flatter myself I did my duty as a minister and citizen. I entertained under my humble roof Major-General Jones, Governor Wentworth, Dr. Caner, and two officers; and happy was I to have it in my power to testify my zeal at that

¹ MS. Letter, January 2, 1776.

important crisis.”¹ The addition of so many persons, civil and military, to his congregation necessarily increased his labours; a remarkable instance of which he mentions, namely, his having administered the sacrament of the Lord’s Supper to 500 men of Baron de Seitz’s Hessian regiment, whose exemplary and regular behaviour, he says, did them great honour.² Mr. Breynton was in the habit of officiating to them in their own language.

Refugees from the insurgent Colonies still continued to pour into Nova Scotia. In a letter, dated 28th October, 1782, Dr. Breynton says, that 300 persons had just arrived at Annapolis, and were soon to be followed by three times that number. Halifax was already so thronged that houses were no longer to be procured at any price, and the necessities of life had become exorbitantly dear.³

It seems only just to Dr. Breynton’s memory to refer to a document in the possession of the Society, which, though imperfect, appears to have been written by a dissenter who had been reconciled to the Church by his means. The writer speaks of Dr. Breynton “as a person who, during a residence of upwards of twenty years in this province, has deservedly gained the goodwill and esteem of men of all ranks and persuasions. . . . He preaches the Gospel of peace and purity with an eloquence of language and delivery far beyond anything I ever heard in America.”

Not only Dr. Breynton, but also the other Missionaries, and the Church itself in Nova Scotia, were under solid obligations to those who, at this period, were high in office in the Government; to Lieut.-Governors Lawrence, and Franklin, but especially to John Belcher, Esq., successively Lieut.-Governor and Chief Justice, who manfully

¹ MS. Letter, January 13, 1777.

² Journal, vol. xxii. p. 45.

³ Ibid. vol. xxiii. p. 10.

avowed his attachment to the Church of England. Writing to the Society, December 16, 1763, he says: "Whilst I may continue to act here for the public, I shall vigilantly note and oppose any infringements upon the rights and freedoms of the Church; at the same time endeavouring, with all tenderness, to promote the fullest toleration upon truly religious, constitutional, and decent principles."

It appears that, by the end of 1783, not fewer than 30,000 persons from New York, and other parts of the States, had arrived in Nova Scotia. The following reference to these interesting immigrants has been kindly contributed by the present Bishop of that diocese, in a letter, dated September 2, 1844:—

"I have lately been at Shelburne, where nearly ten thousand of them, chiefly from New York, and comprising many of my father's parishioners, attracted by the beauty and security of a most noble harbour, were tempted to plant themselves, regardless of the important want of any country in the neighbourhood fit for cultivation. Their means were soon exhausted in building a spacious town, at great expense, and vainly contending against indomitable rocks; and in a few years the place was reduced to a few hundred families. Many of them returned to their native country, and a large portion of them were reduced to poverty. . . . Some few of the first emigrants are still living. I visited these aged members of the Church. They told me that, on their first arrival, lines of women could be seen sitting on the rocks of the shore, and weeping at their altered condition. It is a happy circumstance that the church, built soon after the arrival of the settlers, and consecrated by my father in 1789, has been carefully preserved, and is in excellent condition."

This influx of refugees,—many of them members of the Church of England,—demanded an additional supply of pastoral ministrations; and the Society, therefore, was ready, as opportunity offered, to transfer the services of the

Missionaries who had been ejected from the States, to their brother-loyalists, and now the companions of their exile. This interesting circumstance is noticed by the Bishop of Oxford (Butler), in his anniversary sermon before the Society, in 1784, in the following terms :—

“An infant Church is rising under the favour and protection of Government in Nova Scotia; and it is of a singular description, consisting of honourable exiles under the pastoral care of fellow-sufferers.”¹

Not quite sixty years had elapsed from the publication of this sermon, when the son of the first Bishop of Nova Scotia, and now occupying the same see, informed the Society that he had seen the number of the Clergy, resident within the archdeaconry, (which forms the present diocese,) ² increase from five to fifty.³

¹ Journal, vol. xxiii. p. 18.

² Comprising Nova Scotia, Cape Breton, and Prince Edward Island.

³ Report for 1842.

CHAPTER XVII.

STRUGGLE FOR THE EPISCOPATE.

Design of Archbishop Laud—Of Clarendon—Appeals of Rev. John Talbot—Subject for Convocation—Efforts of the Society—Petition from the Colonies—Gift and Legacies for Endowment of Bishopricks—Rev. S. Johnson and New England Clergy—Rev. Mr. Colebatch designed for Consecration—Exertions of Bishops Secker, Sherlock, Terriek—Drs. Johnson and Leaming—Rev. G. Craig—Bishops Ewer and Lowth—Exertions of Granville Sharp—Of Dr. George Berkeley—Dr. Seabury—His Consecration—Renewed efforts to obtain the Succession through the English branch of the Church—American Prayer-Book—Election and Consecration of Bishops White and Provoost—Of Bishop Inglis—Growth and expansion of the Church.

THE anomalous condition of the Church in America, so long unprovided with episcopal government, has formed the subject of repeated observation in the preceding chapters. It seems, however, due to the importance of the subject, that the whole of it should be presented in one connected view, not only as forming a most interesting page of ecclesiastical history, but also, and especially, because it affords a lesson of useful warning for the future.

It was, as we have seen, in the year 1607, that Robert Hunt, an English clergyman, landed in Virginia with a party of settlers; but it was not until 1784, after the separation of the States from the mother country, that a single Bishop was consecrated for any part of the North

American Continent. Thus, for upwards of 170 years, and while so many new communities, of British origin, were growing to maturity, the Church was left unorganized—shorn of its ordinances—subject to every sort of disorder—and in a position of obvious disadvantage, as compared with the Nonconformist bodies. As early, however, as the year 1638, the sagacious mind of Laud had conceived a design for the remedy of an evil then at its rise, by sending a Bishop to New England; but the scheme was thwarted by the outbreak of troubles in Scotland.¹ A similar proposal was made, soon after the Restoration, by Lord Chancellor Clarendon, and so fully approved by the king, that a patent was actually made out, constituting Dr. Alexander Murray, Bishop of Virginia, with a general charge over the other provinces. But this noble project, which, if carried into effect, would doubtless have exercised a sensible influence on the religious and political institutions of America, was defeated by the accession to power of the “Cabal” Ministry.²

The very first missionaries who were nominated by the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, made strong and repeated representations on the necessity of sending out Bishops. Thus the Rev. John Talbot wrote from New York in 1702:—“We have great need of a Bishop here, to visit all the Churches, to ordain some, to confirm others, and bless all.”

Again, the next year, he speaks of many falling away into dissent, for want of a lawful ministry; while those

¹ Heylyn's Life of Laud, p. 347.

² Gadsden's Life of Bishop Dehon, p. 5. Secker states, from an examination of Bishop Gibson's papers, that the failure was owing to the endowment being made payable out of the customs.—*Letter to H. Walpole. Works*, vol. xi. p. 355.

who were willing and qualified to serve, shrunk from the loss and hazard of a voyage to England to obtain holy orders. He then expresses his assurance that—“Did our gracious Queen Anne but know the necessities of her many good subjects in these parts of the world, she would allow 1000*l.* per annum, rather than so many souls should suffer. Meanwhile, I don’t doubt,” he continues, “but some learned and good man would go further, and do the Church more service with 100*l.* per annum, than with a coach and six one hundred years hence.”

Writing, in 1704, to his friend George Keith, who had returned home, he goes so far as to speak both of the right person to be appointed, and the mode of providing for him:—“Mr. John Lillingston designs, it seems, to go for England next year: he seems to be the fittest person that America affords for the office of a suffragan; and several persons, both of the laity and Clergy, have wished he were the man; and if my Lord of London thought fit to authorize him, several of the Clergy, both of this province and of Maryland, have said they would pay their tenths unto him, as my Lord of London’s vicegerent, whereby the Bishop of America might have as honourable provision as some in Europe.”¹

The other Missionaries concurred in pressing this subject upon the attention of the authorities at home. “Excuse me to the Society,” says the Rev. Thoroughgood Moor, in 1704, “if I am earnest with them for a suffragan, and that they would have a particular regard to the unanimous request of the Clergy in all parts of America upon this account.”²

In the year 1705, a memorial to the Archbishops and Bishops was agreed upon, and signed by fourteen Clergy-

¹ MS. Letters, vol. ii. p. 23.

² MS. Letters, vol. ii. p. 25.

men assembled at Burlington in New Jersey, praying for the "presence and assistance of a suffragan Bishop, to ordain such persons as are fit to be called to serve in the sacred ministry of the Church, and stating, that they had been "deprived of the advantages which might have been received of some presbyterian and independent ministers that formerly were, and of others that still are, willing to conform and receive the holy character, for want of a Bishop to give it. The baptized," they added, "want to be confirmed."¹ Thus appealed to, both publicly in formal representations, and privately in the correspondence of its Missionaries, the Society took occasion to embody the substance of these several petitions in a Memorial to the Queen in 1709, as follows:—

"We cannot but take this opportunity further to represent to your Majesty, with the greatest humility, the earnest and repeated desires, not only of the Missionaries, but of divers other considerable persons that are in communion with our excellent Church, to have a Bishop settled in your American plantations, (which we humbly conceive to be very useful and necessary for establishing the gospel in those parts,) that they may be the better united among themselves than at present they are, and more able to withstand the designs of their enemies; that there may be Confirmations, which, in their present state, they cannot have the benefit of, and that an easy and speedy care may be taken of all the other affairs of the Church, which is much increased in those parts, and to which, through your Majesty's gracious protection and encouragement, we trust that yet a greater addition will daily be made. We humbly beg leave to add, that we are informed that the French have received several great advantages from their establishing a Bishop at Quebec."²

It was about this time that, as we are informed by his biographer,³ a plan was proposed for sending out Dean

¹ Appendix to Journal, p. 86.

² Appendix to Journal, p. 139.

³ Scott's Life of Swift, prefixed to his Works, p. 98. .

Swift, as Bishop, to Virginia; but it is needless to say, that no appointment was made.

In 1710, Colonel Nicholson, the Governor of Virginia, and a most munificent benefactor to the Church, expressed, in a letter to the Archbishop of Canterbury, his opinion, "that unless a Bishop be sent, in a short time, the Church of England will rather diminish than increase in North America."¹

Of course it was impossible but that a subject, so important in itself, and so constantly dwelt upon in the memorials and remonstrances of churchmen in America, should engage the attention of the leading authorities of the Church at home. And we are told, that, at a meeting held January 20, 1711, and attended by the Archbishop of York (Sharp), the Bishops of Bristol (Robinson) and St. David's (Bisse), Dr. Atterbury, prolocutor of the lower house of Convocation, and Drs. Smalldridge and Stanhope, to deliberate upon what measures it might be suitable to submit to the consideration of Convocation, Archbishop Sharp, after certain points had been agreed upon, would have "added another proposal concerning Bishops being provided for the plantations; but as my Lord of London, who had a right to be consulted first on the project, was not there, the thing was dropped."²

We cannot help bitterly regretting that the Church of England lost the opportunity afforded by her last synodical meeting, of proclaiming the duty of planting the Episcopate in our Colonies.

The Society, however, stimulated by repeated appeals from the Missionaries, appears at length to have matured a

¹ MS. Letters, vol. v. p. 94.

² Life of Archbishop Sharp, by his son, Archdeacon Sharp, edited by the Rev. Thomas Newcome, vol. i. p. 352.

comprehensive plan for providing the Church in the Colonies with episcopal government; and, accordingly, on the 24th of March, 1713, a representation on the subject was drawn up, and, in due time, presented to her Majesty, who was graciously pleased to return a favourable answer. The Church, therefore, seemed on the point of attaining the object at which she had so long aimed; but, unhappily, the Queen's death occurring soon afterwards put an end to the arrangements.

The Society took an early opportunity, after the accession of George I., of renewing their application to the crown; and as the Memorial contains not only a full statement of the wants of the American Church, but proposals in detail for the best mode of supplying them, it is here given at length.

“To His most Excellent Majesty George, by the Grace of God, of Great Britain, France, and Ireland, King, Defender of the Faith, &c.

“The most humble representation of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, 3rd of June, 1715.

“May it please your Majesty :

“The said Society, with greatest humility, crave leave to represent to your Majesty that, since the time of their incorporation, which was in the reign of his late Majesty, King William the Third, they have used their best endeavours to answer the end of their institution, by sending over, at their very great expense, ministers, and to the utmost of their ability, for the more regular administrations of God's holy word and sacraments, together with schoolmasters, pious and useful books to and amongst your Majesty's subjects in many of your Majesty's plantations and colonies in America, for their instruction and improvement in sound religion, which, as they humbly hope, hath redounded to the advancement of God's glory and the good of your subjects in those parts. In prosecution whereof, the said Society were greatly

encouraged and assisted by your Majesty's royal predecessor, Queen Anne, to whom, among other things, they then represented, as they now do most humbly to your Majesty, the earnest desires and repeated applications, not only of the Missionaries, but of divers other considerable persons in those parts in communion with our Church, to have Bishops settled in your American plantations, as very useful and necessary for establishing the gospel there, for the due exercise of ecclesiastical discipline, for ordaining men well qualified and willing to take upon them episcopal ordination, for confirming persons baptized, and promoting of piety, duty, peace and unity, as well among the clergy as laity. To which request she was graciously pleased to make a most favourable answer. But it pleased God the same could not be perfected by her late Majesty, as the Society most humbly hope it will be under your Majesty's most auspicious reign.

“ Therefore, the said Society, with all submission, lay it before your Majesty as their opinion, after the most mature deliberation, that it is highly expedient four Bishops [be sent] thither, as soon as conveniently may be, to forward the great work of converting infidels to the saving faith of our blessed Redeemer, and for the regulating such Christians in their faith and practice as are already converted thereunto : that is to say, two for the care and superintendency of islands, and as many for the continent ; with the appointments of fifteen hundred pounds sterling per annum for each of the former, and one thousand pounds per annum for each of the latter, as the nature of their dioceses seem to require, in case the sees of the former be settled, as is humbly proposed by the said Society, the one of them at Barbados for itself and the Leeward Islands, the other at Jamaica for itself with the Bahama and Bermuda Islands : those for the continent,—the one of them at Burlington in New Jersey, where the Society has been at six hundred pounds charge and upwards to purchase a convenient house and land for his residence, for a district extending from the east side of Delaware River to the utmost bounds of your Majesty's dominions eastward, including Newfoundland :—the other, at Williamsburg in Virginia, for a district extending from the west side of Delaware River to the utmost bounds of your Majesty's dominions westward.

“The said Society humbly beg leave further to represent, that the appointments for the Bishops of the islands may be raised from the best rectory in the capital seat of each Bishop, from the ordinary jurisdiction, and from the tenth part of all future grants and escheats to the crown, if your Majesty shall so please, with such local revenues as shall be thought fit to be made by the respective assemblies. The Bishop of Barbados may have, towards completing the said sum of 1,500*l.* per annum, the presidentship of General Codrington’s College, to be erected within that island by the Society therewith entrusted, under your Majesty’s royal licence. And the Bishop of Jamaica may have a like provision out of the church lands of St. Christopher’s, formerly belonging to the Jesuits and the Carmelites, and other French popish clergy, if your Majesty shall be so pleased to grant them to the use of the said Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, for the purposes above mentioned. And the appointments for the Bishops of the continent, besides what is expected from St. Christopher’s, may, unless other proper means be found out for their maintenance and support by your Majesty’s great wisdom, be made up out of the ordinary jurisdiction of their respective dioceses, some lands which may be purchased in those dominions at easy rates, others which may be granted by the favour of your Majesty’s donations, with a tenth part clear out of all future grants and escheats, if your Majesty shall be so pleased, and such proportion of the local revenues as shall be sufficient to make up the sum proposed; or in lieu of such appointments which shall not be judged practicable, such bishopric on the continent as shall most want a complete maintenance, may have annexed to it either a prebend in your Majesty’s gift, the mastership of the Savoy, or that of St. Catherine’s.

“And the Society, as in duty bound, shall ever pray, &c.”¹

But the time was most unfavourable for a consideration of the claims of the Church. The rebellion had just broken out in Scotland; and the jealousies of party, height-

¹ MS. Letters, vol. x. p. 28.

ened by distrust of a Clergy suspected of favouring the Stuart family, precluded all hope of their petition being entertained by the administration of Sir Robert Walpole. The importance, however, which Archbishop Tenison attached to the subject, may be judged of by the fact, that he bequeathed, by will, dated 1715, the sum of 1,000*l.* towards the settlement of Bishops in America.

These delays were very mortifying to the ardent minds of such men as Talbot, who, in his impatience, was tempted to lay the blame, though most unjustly, upon the Society. The following characteristic remonstrance is contained in one of his letters, written in 1716 :—

“ The poor Church of God here in the wilderness, there’s none to guide her among all the sons that she has brought forth, nor is there any that takes her by the hand of all the sons that she has brought up. When the apostles heard that Samaria had received the Word of God, immediately they sent out two of the chief, Peter and John, to lay their hands on them, and pray that they might receive the Holy Ghost ; they did not stay for a secular design of salary ; and when the apostles heard that the Word of God was preached at Antioch, presently they sent out Paul and Barnabas, that they should go as far as Antioch to confirm the disciples ; and so the churches were established in the faith, and increased in number daily. And when Paul did but dream that a man of Macedonia called him, he set sail all so fast, and went over himself to help them. But we have been here these twenty years calling till our hearts ache, and ye own ’tis the call and cause of God, and yet ye have not heard, or have not answered, and that’s all one . . . I don’t pretend to prophesy, but you know how ’tis said, the kingdom of God shall be taken from them, and given to a nation that will bring forth the fruits of it. God give

us all the grace to do the things that belong to our peace !”¹

The following is another specimen in the same reproachful strain :—

“ I cannot think but the honourable Society had done much more if they had found one honest man to bring Gospel orders over to us. No doubt, as they have freely received, they would freely give ; but there’s a *nolo episcopari* only for poor America ; but she shall have her gospel-day even as others, but we shall never see it unless we make more haste than we have done.”²

No stronger testimony could be afforded to the value and importance of episcopal superintendence, regarded merely as a matter of ecclesiastical polity, than is to be found in the frequent and earnest appeals of the Clergy and laity of the infant Church of America. Instead, as some would have supposed, of jealously defending their independence, they discovered it to be nothing but a source of disorder, and with one voice demanded to be placed under the government of Bishops and the discipline of the Church. The following is a statement at once of their grievances, and a plan by which they might be redressed.³

“ To the most Reverend Fathers in God, the Archbishops and Bishops of the Church of England,

“ The representation and humble petition of many of the faithful in the communion of the Church of England in North America,

“ Most humbly sheweth :

“ That whereas, the British colonies and settlements in America have now for many years been blessed with the pure and primitive

¹ MS. Letters, vol. xi. p. 335.

² MS. Letters, vol. xii. p. 178.

³ Vol. xiv. p. 144.

doctrine and worship of our mother the Church of England, of which you are happy at this day in [being] the great ornaments and rulers ;

“ And whereas, for want of episcopacy being established amongst us, and that there has never been any Bishop sent to visit us, our churches remain unconsecrated, our children are grown up and cannot be confirmed, their sureties are under solemn obligations but cannot be absolved, and our Clergy, sometimes, under doubts and cannot be resolved ;

“ But whereas, more especially for the want of that sacred power which is inherent to your apostolick, the vacancies which daily happen in our ministry cannot be supplied for a considerable time from England, whereby many congregations are not only become desolate, and the light of the gospel therein extinguished, but great encouragement is thereby given to sectaries of all sorts which abound and increase amongst us, and, some of them pretending to what they call the power of ordination, the country is filled with fanatic teachers, debauching the good inclinations of many poor souls who are left destitute of any instruction or ministry ;

“ May it therefore please your lordships, in your great piety and regard for the government of the Church by Bishops, to think of some means whereby these sorrowful complaints and most grievous misfortunes may be heard and redressed, and that Almighty God may, of his infinite mercy, inspire your thoughts, and assist your pious endeavours to accomplish this evidently necessary work, is the most earnest and daily prayer of,

“ May it please your lordships,

“ Your lordships’ most humble petitioners, and most obedient sons and servants.”

This petition, which is dated June 2, 1718, was signed by order of the vestries of Christ’s Church, Philadelphia, and St. Ann’s, Burlington, as also by the clergy and many of the laity in Maryland, and it may therefore be fairly

presumed to convey the sentiments of the members of our Church in those Colonies.

It was about this time that an unknown benefactor gave the sum of 1000*l.* to the "Society for the Propagation of the Gospel," with directions that "the principal and interest might be applied towards the maintenance of a Bishop in America, when such Bishop should be established." This fund was increased in 1720, by a gift of 500*l.* for the same purpose, by Dugald Campbell, Esq., and in 1741, by a benefaction of like amount, from the Lady Elizabeth Hastings. These donations show that the interest which was felt in the full organization of the American Church was not confined to the Clergy.

An event occurred in 1723, which induced Bishop Gibson to press the matter more urgently on the attention of the minister. The Rev. John Talbot, who had so long and so warmly contended for the establishment of the episcopate in America, and the Rev. Robert Welton, were consecrated by the nonjuring Bishops, and went back in their new character to the Colonies. The Government at home successfully interfered to prevent the exercise of their functions, but still unaccountably refused to sanction the consecration of clergymen friendly to the Hanoverian line.

Every year the necessity of such a measure was becoming more sensibly felt. In 1724, the Rev. Samuel Johnson, the newly ordained missionary of Stratford, after alluding to several places where a resident clergyman was much wanted, proceeds as follows, in a letter to the Bishop of London, dated January 28:—

"Now, at the same time, my lord, there are a considerable number of very promising young gentlemen, five or six I am sure of, and those the best that are educated among us, who might be instrumental to do a great deal of good to the souls of men,

were they ordained, but for the want of episcopal ordination decline the ministry, and go into secular business, being, partly from themselves, and partly through the influence of their friends, unwilling to expose themselves to the danger of the seas and distempers; so terrifying has been the unhappy fate of Mr. Browne. So that the fountain of all our misery is the want of a Bishop, for whom there are many thousands of souls in this country do impatiently long and pray, and for want do extremely suffer. My lord, permit me to remember the concern your lordship was pleased to express for sending a suffragan into this country, when we were before your lordship, which gave me greater pleasure because I have the satisfaction to know, that so great is your lordship's deserved interest with his most sacred Majesty King George (whom God long preserve), that you might very probably be the first, under God and the King, in effecting for us so great a blessing. And suffer me further, my lord, to say, that there is not one Jacobite or disaffected person in this colony, nor above two or three, that I know of, in America."

In 1725, six of the Clergy of New England, including Dr. Cutler and Mr. Johnson, drew up a Memorial to the Society, conveying a generally favourable account of the condition of their congregations, but complaining of the annoyance and oppression to which those who, for conscience' sake, united themselves to the Church, were subjected, especially by imprisonment for non-payment of taxes towards the support of dissenting teachers; and praying for the protection and guidance of a resident Bishop.

"We humbly conceive nothing can more effectually redress these grievances, and protect us from the insults of our adversaries, than an orthodox and loyal Bishop residing with us; and at this time are awakened to such a thought by the coming over of Dr. Welton, late of Whitechapel, who has privately received the episcopal character in England, and from whose influences and industry we have reason to fear very unhappy consequences in the peace of the Church, and the affections of this country to our most

excellent constitution and his most sacred Majesty's person and government.

"Not only those who profess themselves Churchmen long and pray for this great blessing of a worthy Bishop with us, but also multitudes of those who are well-wishers to us, but are kept concealed for want thereof, and would immediately appear and form many more congregations too, if once this happiness were granted. This would supply us with many useful ministers from among ourselves, whom the hazards of the seas and sickness, and the charges of travel, discourage from the service of the Church, and tempt them to enlist themselves as members or ministers of dissenting congregations. Our people might receive the benefit of confirmation, the usefulness whereof we preach, and they are very deeply sensible; a better harmony might be amongst ourselves than now is,—of very necessary consequence to our happiness and reputation; the mouths of our enemies might be stopped, both the Roman Catholics of the governments around us who have Bishops, and the dissenters with whom we dwell, who upbraid us for pressing those things we cannot enjoy. In a word, by this means, all those gracious ends which the Society purposeth to itself might, with a vast deal more regularity, facility, and success, be attained."¹

The Rev. James Honyman also, besides signing the foregoing memorial, wrote privately to the Bishop of London on the same subject, submitting to his lordship that many perplexing doubts were constantly arising which could only be resolved by the authority of a superior; among others, the difficulty or impossibility of finding a sufficient number of baptized persons to be sureties or witnesses at the baptism of infants and adults.²

Nor was this importunate cry for Bishops confined to the New England Colonies. The clergy of Maryland made the same demand; and the Bishop of London, willing

¹ MS. Letters, vol. xix. p. 234.

² MS. Letter, June 16 1726.

to comply with their request, sent for the Rev. Mr. Colebatch, one of the clergy of that province, who bore the character of a worthy and religious man, with a view to his being consecrated suffragan. It does not appear whether the Bishop had obtained the consent of the Crown; but Mr. Colebatch was served with a writ *ne exeat regno*; and so this scheme, like others which preceded it, fell to the ground.¹

Still the subject was not allowed to drop; and in the anniversary sermon which Secker, then Bishop of Oxford, preached before the Society in 1741, he thus alluded to some of the disadvantages under which the Church in America laboured for want of Bishops:—"Were there better opportunities for a learned education abroad, more of the natives of our Colonies would be fitted for the work, which they would undertake with many advantages above such as go from hence. And had they Bishops there, these persons might be ordained without the inconveniences of a long voyage; vacancies might be supplied in much less time; the primitive and most useful appointment of confirmation might be restored, and an orderly discipline exercised in the churches."

But another witness, whose opinion deserves even greater weight, from his experience of the impossibility of a Bishop of London practically superintending a church so far removed, is now to be cited. Bishop Sherlock, writing to the Rev. Dr. Johnson in 1749, says:—"I have been soliciting the establishment of one or two Bishops, to reside in proper parts of the plantations, and to have the conduct and direction of the whole. I am sensible, for myself, that I am capable of doing but little service to

¹ Hawks's Ecclesiastical History of the United States, vol. ii. p. 196.

² Pp. 27, 28.

those distant churches; and I am persuaded that no Bishop residing in England ought to have, or willingly to undertake, the province. As soon as I came to the See of London, I presented a Memorial to the King on this subject, which he referred to his principal officers of state, to be considered.”¹

It will naturally be asked, if so general a desire was expressed by the clergy in the plantations for the appointment of Bishops, and the reasonableness and importance of the measure were so fully admitted by the heads of the Church at home, why the appointment was still delayed? The answer must be, that the prejudices of those who opposed the introduction of Episcopacy into America outweighed the representations of its advocates.

The objections commonly entertained were rather of a civil and political than of an ecclesiastical character. There was, of course, the old traditionary feeling, especially in the New England States, against what they termed “Prelacy,” as connected with religious intolerance; and this objection was much strengthened by vague apprehensions of some coercive power to be exercised by a Bishop over the laity—of his interference with the authority of the Governor, and of taxes which might be levied for his support. But, besides all this, the people were becoming gradually more democratic in their habits, and so, more and more jealous of the influence which Episcopacy might exert in favour of monarchy and the institutions of the mother country.

Proposals were sent home by some of the New England clergy in 1750, with a view of obviating such objections; and a plan was drawn up in the same year by Bishop Butler,²

¹ Chandler's *Life of Dr. Johnson*, p. 131.

² Calamy's *Hist. Account of his own Life*, vol. ii. p. 335. Note by the Editor.

embodying the proposals of the memorialists, in the hope of disarming hostility; but it shared the fate of its many predecessors. The truth is, that while the dissenters in the Colonies and at home were united in opposition to the measure, the mass of English Churchmen, ignorant and indifferent, gave themselves no trouble about it. The Society had done its part, by frequent addresses to the crown; and the Bishops continued to do theirs. Bishop Sherlock thus expressed himself on the subject to Dr. Doddridge, May 11, 1751:—

“The care of it [the Church of England in the Colonies] as an Episcopal Church is supposed to be in the Bishop of London. How he comes to be charged with this care I will not now inquire; but sure I am that the care is improperly lodged: for a Bishop to live at one end of the world and his Church at another, must make the office very uncomfortable to the Bishop, and, in a great measure, useless to the people.”

He then alludes to the great inconveniences arising from want of a resident Bishop, the hazard and expense of going to England for ordination, &c., and adds:—

“For these reasons, and others of no less weight, I did apply to the King, as soon as I was Bishop of London, to have two or three Bishops appointed for the Plantations, to reside there. I thought there could be no reasonable objection to it, not even from the dissenters; as the Bishops proposed were to have no jurisdiction but over the clergy of their own Church.”

But although the proposal, in itself most reasonable, was made in so conciliatory a spirit, and although no design was entertained of sending a Bishop to New England, where the dissenters predominated, yet it met with the most determined opposition in that country.

“Was this,” the Bishop asks, “consistent even with a spirit of toleration? Would they think themselves tolerated, if they were

debarred the right of appointing ministers among themselves, and were obliged to send all their candidates to Geneva, or Scotland, for orders? At the same time that they gave this opposition, they set up a mission of their own for Virginia, a country entirely episcopal, by authority of their Synod. And in their own country, where they have the power, they have prosecuted and imprisoned several members for not paying towards supporting the dissenting preachers, though no such charge can, by any colour of law, be imposed on them : this has been the case in New England.”¹

Secker, whose sermon in 1741 has been referred to, never lost sight of the subject. While Bishop of Oxford, he wrote, in 1754, to his correspondent, the Rev. Dr. Johnson, as follows :—“ We have done all we can here in vain, and must wait for more favourable times . . . So long as they [the Dissenters] are uneasy, and remonstrate, regard will be paid to them and their friends here by our ministers of state.”² And his later correspondence contains proof of the anxiety which he felt, after his elevation to the primacy, for the settlement of the Church in America. Nor did he content himself with expressing his opinion in private. In the midst of other occupations, he took the trouble of replying to a pamphlet, written by Dr. Mayhew, of Boston, in which the proposal for appointing Bishops in America was vehemently denounced. In this answer, the Archbishop states very calmly the undeniable right of the Church to her own Apostolical government; and speaks of the anomalous position of the clergy in America as “ without parallel in the Christian world.”³

In 1764, he says, writing to Dr. Johnson :—

“ The affair of American Bishops continues in suspense. Lord Willoughby of Parham, the only English dissenting peer, and

¹ Correspondence and Diary of Dr. Doddridge, vol. v. p. 201.

² Chandler's Life of Dr. Johnson, p. 177.

³ Life of Secker, prefixed to his Sermons, p. 52.

Dr. Chandler, have declared, after our scheme was fully laid before them, that they saw no objection against it. The Duke of Bedford, Lord-President, hath given a calm and favourable hearing to it, hath desired it may be reduced to writing, and promised to consult about it with the other ministers, at his first leisure."¹

But party spirit was beginning to run high; and the Archbishop, therefore, urged the importance of pursuing their object "in a quiet, private manner," so as not to "run the risk of increasing the outcry against the Society."

In 1776, he spoke more fully on the same subject:—

"It is very probable that a Bishop, or Bishops, would have been quietly received in America before the Stamp Act was passed here; but it is certain that we could get no permission here to send one. Earnest and continual endeavours have been used with our successive ministers and ministries, but without obtaining more than promises to consider and confer about the matter; which promises have never been fulfilled. The king [George the Third] hath expressed himself repeatedly in favour of the scheme; and hath promised, that, if objections are imagined to lie against other places, a Protestant Bishop should be sent to Quebec, where there is a Popish one, and where there are few dissenters to take offence. And in the latter end of Mr. Grenville's ministry, a plan of an ecclesiastical establishment for Canada was formed on which a Bishop might easily have been grafted, and was laid before a committee of council. But opinions differed there, and proper persons could not be persuaded to attend; and in a while the ministry changed. Incessant application was made to the new ministry: some slight hopes were given, but no step taken. Yesterday, the ministry was changed again, as you may see in the papers; but whether any change will happen in our concern, and whether for the better or the worse, I cannot so much as guess. Of late, indeed, it hath not been prudent to do anything, unless at Quebec; and therefore the Address from the clergy of Connecticut which arrived here in December last, and that from the clergy of New York and New Jersey, which arrived in January, have not

¹ Life of Secker, prefixed to his Sermons, p. 196.

been presented to the king ; but he hath been acquainted with the purport of them, and directed them to be postponed to a fitter time."

It was at this time that Secker wrote in the following terms to Horace Walpole :—

" The reasonableness of the proposal, abstractedly considered, you seem to admit : and indeed it belongs to the very nature of Episcopal Churches to have Bishops at proper distances presiding over them ; nor was there ever before, I believe, in the Christian world, an instance of such a number of churches, or a tenth part of that number, with no Bishop amongst them, or within some thousands of miles from them. But the consideration of the episcopal acts which are requisite, will prove the need of episcopal residence more fully. Confirmation is an Office of our Church, derived from the primitive ages ; and when administered with due care, a very useful one. All our people in America see the appointment of it in their Prayer-books, immediately after their Catechism ; and if they are denied it unless they will come over to England for it, they are, in fact, prohibited the exercise of one part of their religion."¹

He then refers to the anxiety of successive Bishops for the establishment of Episcopacy in the Colonies :—

" I believe there scarce is, or ever was, a Bishop of the Church of England, from the Revolution to this day, that hath not desired the establishment of Bishops in our Colonies. Archbishop Tenison, who was surely no High-Churchman, left, by his will, 1000*l.* towards it ; and many more of the greatest eminence might be named, who were and are zealous for it.² Or, if Bishops, as such, must of course be deemed partial, the Society for Propagating the Gospel consists partly also of inferior clergymen, partly too of laymen. Now the last cannot so well be suspected of

¹ Letter to Horace Walpole. Works, vol. xi. p. 342.

² Bishop Benson, of Gloucester, who died in 1752, bequeathed a legacy, " to be added to the fund for settling Bishops in our Plantations in America, hoping that a design so necessary and unexceptionable cannot but at last be put in execution."—*Secker's Answer to Dr. Mayhew's Observations. Works*, vol. xi. p. 328.

designing to advance ecclesiastical authority. Yet this whole body of men, almost ever since it was in being, hath been making repeated applications for Bishops in America; nor have the lay part of it ever refused to concur in them.”¹

Archbishop Secker, as his last service in a cause which he had so zealously advocated, bequeathed the sum of 1000*l*. “towards the establishment of a Bishop, or Bishops, in the king’s dominions in America.”

Bishop Terrick, whose attention was naturally directed to the subject, on his translation to the See of London, in 1764, expressed distinctly his opinion, both as to the importance of establishing the Episcopate in America, and as to the obstacles in the way of such a measure. His words are:—

“I feel, as sensibly as you can do, the distress of the Americans, in being obliged, at so much hazard and expense, to come to this country for orders; but I own I see no prospect of a speedy remedy to it. They who are enemies to the measure of an Episcopacy, whether on your part of the globe or ours, have hitherto found means to prevent its taking place, though no measure can be better suited to every principle of true policy, none can be more consistent with every idea I have formed of truly religious liberty. We want no other motives for declaring our sentiments and wishes on the subject, but what arise from the expediency, I had almost said the necessity, of putting the American Church upon a more respectable plan, by the appointment of a Bishop.”²

A few more witnesses shall be cited with a view of completing the chain of evidence, both of the urgently expressed wants of the American Church, and also of the long-continued neglect of it by the Government of the mother country.

¹ Letter to Horace Walpole. Works, vol. xi. p. 348.

² Chandler’s Life of Dr. Johnson, p. 200.

The Rev. Jeremiah Leaming writes thus, September 29, 1763:—"I hope there will be means found out to support the Church in this Government, otherwise I fear there will be no religion here in the next generation. In order it might be supported in the purity of it, there is great need of a *Bishop* to confirm, ordain, and govern." And the veteran Dr. Johnson urges the point with the same warmth as he had done forty years previously. Writing to the Bishop of London, in behalf of the clergy of Connecticut, September 14, 1764, he says:—

"But as the Church is become very numerous in these now wide and vastly extended countries . . . we humbly hope . . . that it is reserved for one of the glories of your lordship's Episcopate, that these countries may be provided for with Bishops residing in some of these Colonies, to have the more immediate inspection and government of us; and we humbly implore your lordship's best influence, that this blessed event may now at length be accomplished."

"I have often wondered," (says the Rev. George Craig, June 25, 1766,) "what can be the reason that the British dominions in America are not blessed with a Bishop: it is certainly a very great loss to the Church, and the longer it is deferred it will be more so. It was thought absolutely necessary to have one before our late conquests, and if I may give my opinion, *three* now will be few enough, viz. one for the Floridas and Carolinas; one for Virginia, Maryland, Pennsylvania, New York, Jersey, and Boston; the third for Canada."

Again, the clergy of Massachusetts and Rhode Island, assembled in convention at Boston, June 6, 1767, drew up a Report to the Society, containing particulars of several of the missions, and concluding with the following exhortation, which would show that they had more correct views as to the best mode of binding a colony to the mother country than the statesmen and politicians at home.

“It is, however, a great discouragement to those who would offer themselves to the service of these American churches, that they are still obliged to submit to the danger and expense of a voyage of one thousand leagues long to qualify themselves for that service. Since the first settlement of Christianity, so large a continent as this was never known without a resident Bishop. We flattered ourselves that such an extensive territory as was heretofore possessed, and hath since been added to the British dominions by the late war, would certainly have been followed by some provision of this kind; but especially the late popular tumults in these colonies, we imagined, would have strongly pointed out the necessity of such a step towards the uniting and attaching the colonies to the mother country, and have silenced every objection that could be raised against it.

“We are too remote and inconsiderable to approach the throne; yet, could his Majesty hear the voice of so distant a people, the request for American Bishops would appear to be the cry of many thousands of his most faithful subjects. We do, however, think ourselves happy in this, that the Society will omit no favourable opportunity of representing the advantages that may accrue to these colonies, to religion, and to the British interests, by condescending to this our request.

“We bless God for the great and good effects of the Society’s care and attention to these colonies, and hope it will please God that they may become instrumental in obtaining this further invaluable blessing of resident Bishops for America.

“We are, with great veneration, the Society’s dutiful and obedient, and, Rev. Sir, your most humble servants,

“ EDWARD BASS.	H. CANER.
EDWARD WINSLOW.	JOHN USHER.
S. FAYREWEATHER.	EBENR. THOMPSON.
JACOB BAILEY.	WILL. M ^C GILCHRIST.
J. WINGATE WEEKS.	JOHN TROUTBECK.
A. WALLER.	W. SERGEANT.
JOHN LION.	JAMES GREATON.”

The Missionaries kept up for three quarters of a century their importunate demand for resident Bishops; and these appeals and remonstrances, though unavailing for the time, may not be without their use for the statesmen and churchmen of a country which is still mistress of so many and important colonies.

The Rev. E. Dibblee writes thus, Oct. 1, 1767:—

“We cannot but flatter ourselves, that our superiors will be made sensible of the importance and necessity of settling an Episcopate in America, in regard to the interest of religion, the obliging their best friends, the safety and security of the government, when we have so powerful and reputable a body as the venerable board to solicit in our favour. God have mercy upon us, if the provinces here should throw off their connexion, dependence, and subjection to the mother country; for, how much soever they are divided in religious sentiment among themselves, yet they can unite heart and hand to oppose and check, if possible, the growth and progress of our Holy Church, which, like rising Christianity, springs up and flourishes out of their religious confusions; and extremely sorry indeed we were to find the venerable Board so reluctant to establish any more new missions in and about New England, in consequence of late clamours; whereas I think it impossible the present missionaries can supply the spiritual wants of the people.”¹

Another letter, dated the same year, from the Rev. James Scovil, is too instructive to be omitted. He says, July 6, 1767:—“The church people in my cure appear to have a serious sense of religion, and a hearty love and affection to our excellent Church, which makes them greatly lament the deplorable condition of the Church in these parts, for want of resident Bishops, to ordain, govern, and confirm those of our own communion. They who live in England, where the Church is rather triumphant, can have

¹ Original Letters, vol. xvii. l. 107.

but a faint idea of its truly militant state here in New England, where the dissenters take occasion to insult and revile us, even for want of that discipline which they so unjustly and clamorously oppose. Though they would be thought the greatest friends to liberty, yet, I doubt not, they would think it a great degree of oppression, and even persecution, to be obliged themselves to go 3,000 miles for what they judged essential to the perfection of their church; and I trust in God, we are as conscientious in the profession of the truth, and adherence to the most pure and primitive Church in the world, as they can be in their errors. They have plentifully reproached us with the hated name of Jacobites, persons disaffected to the present royal family, of blessed memory; but when the Stamp Act brought our loyalty to the test, I thank God the scale turned greatly in our favour. While we sensibly feel all these disadvantages, it fills us with real grief and concern to find the venerable Society declining to open any more missions in New England. They, under God, by their generous bounty and pious liberality, have been the nursing fathers and chief supporters of the languishing Church in this land, for which unspeakable favour our warmest sentiments of gratitude and duty will always attend them; and we most humbly and earnestly beg the continuance of their patronage and kind assistance, so long as our circumstances continue upon all accounts so truly pitiable.”¹

The Rev. Samuel Andrews, Missionary at Wallingford, writes much in the same style (Oct. 8, 1767). “There appears,” he says, “to be nothing wanting in this country, in the present day, in order that our Church should flourish in every part of it, but resident Bishops and a proper support of government; towards the effecting of which, if the

¹ Original Letters, vol. xvii. l. 343.

degeneracy of the age is such that the political and religious interest of the nation cannot prevail, what other arguments have we reason to hope will?"

"I will only add, for the sake of the best churches," (says Dr. Johnson, 1769,) "that, though I am sensible nothing can be done as to providing an American Episcopate, in the present unhappy condition of things, yet I do humbly hope and confide that the venerable Society will never lose sight of that most important object till it is accomplished; for, till then, the Church here must be so far from flourishing, that she must dwindle and be contemptible in the eyes of all the other denominations."

We may add, though a little out of order, the following brief but passionate appeal of the Rev. Matthew Graves, dated Jan. 1, 1772:—"The blessing of a Bishop would make true religion and loyalty overspread this land. Hasten, hasten, O Lord, a truly spiritual overseer to this despised, abused, persecuted part of thy vineyard, for Christ Jesus' sake. Amen! Amen!"

And well was the prayer of the clergy in America supported by the Bishops in England. In the anniversary sermon preached before the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in 1767, the Bishop of Llandaff (Dr. Ewer) contended warmly for the rights of the American Church, which alone (he said) of all the religious communions, was not tolerated; while the want of Bishops rendered it impossible to have a native ministry.

Bishop Lowth urged forcibly the same topics, in 1771, and spoke of the colonists as deprived of "the common benefit which all Christian Churches, in all ages, and in every part of the world, have freely enjoyed." The Bishop observes:—

"The proper and only remedy hath long since been pointed out—the appointment of one or more resident Bishops, for the

exercise of offices purely episcopal in the American Church of England ; for administering the solemn and edifying rite of confirmation ; for ordaining ministers,¹ and superintending their conduct :—offices to which the members of the Church of England have an undeniable claim, and from which they cannot be precluded without manifest injustice and oppression.”²

The last quotation shall be from a letter written by the same eminent prelate to Dr. Chandler, at the very beginning of the American disturbances, May 29, 1775 :—

“ If,” he says, “ it shall please God that these unhappy tumults be quieted, and peace and order restored (which event I am sanguine enough to think is not far distant), we may reasonably hope that our governors will be taught, by experience, to have some regard to the Church of England in America.”³

With these earnest appeals on record, it cannot be said that the heads of the English Church were indifferent to the claims of their American brethren, or backward to maintain them. But it would be both unjust and ungrateful not to mention how powerful and steadfast an ally they found in Mr. Granville Sharp. In a long note appended to his tract on the “ Law of Retribution,” which was printed in 1776, he gave an account “ of the Apostolical and primitive Catholic Church of Christ, which always maintained the natural and just right of the clergy and people of every diocese to select their own Bishops, for above 500 years after the establishment of it,

¹ “ The exact number of those who have gone home for ordination from these northern Colonies is fifty-two. Of these, forty-two have returned safely, and ten have miscarried ; the voyage, or sickness occasioned by it, having proved fatal to near a fifth part of them. The expense of their voyage cannot be reckoned at less, upon an average, than one hundred pounds sterling to each person.”—*Dr. Chandler's Appeal*, p. 34. New York. 1767.

² Sermon before S.P.G. p 17.

³ Chandler's Life of Dr. Johnson, p. 207.

until the Church of Rome began its baneful exertions to invade and suppress that just and important right. This note," he says, "together with some other remarks on the importance of Episcopacy, as being, according to a maxim of the English common law, the strength of the republic (*ordo Episcoporum est robur rei-publicæ*), had the extraordinary effect of convincing a very large body of Dissenters and Presbyterians, as well as Churchmen, in America, of the propriety of establishing Episcopacy among themselves in the United States; so that, even during the war, a motion had been made in Congress for that purpose, and was postponed merely because a time of peace was thought more proper for the consideration of so important a regulation.

The "remarks," to which allusion is made, were contained in a treatise on "Congregational Courts;" of which, he says, "the chief design is to remove the prejudices of the Americans against Episcopacy, by proving the right of popular elections; and he afterwards characterized the same tract as "chiefly instrumental to the introduction of Episcopacy into America; as even Dr. Franklin, the philosopher, became an advocate for it."¹

After the recognition of the Independence of the States, the appointment of Bishops, which had, for nearly a century, been a matter of the highest importance to the *welfare* of the Church, became an indispensable condition of its *existence*. The English Bishops were not at liberty to ordain any Candidates for Holy Orders without first requiring them to take the oath of allegiance to the British Crown. This, of course, no citizen of an Independent power, as the States had now become, could do, and the supply of clergy seemed in danger of being cut off. In point

¹ Memoirs of Granville Sharp, Esq., by Prince Hoare, pp. 208, 209.

of fact, two candidates had come over to England in July, 1784, and been refused ordination on these grounds. They then applied to Dr. Franklin for counsel as to the proper course to be followed in their case, but he, it would appear, was very incompetent to advise on such a subject; for, being at Paris, he went to consult first the French Bishops, and next the Pope's nuncio, on the matter.¹ To remove, in some sort, the existing anomaly, an Act was passed, "to empower the Bishop of London for the time being, and any other Bishop to be by him appointed, to admit to the order of deacon or priest persons being subjects or citizens of countries out of his Majesty's dominions, without requiring them to take the oath of allegiance as appointed by law."

This was, however, a palliative, rather than a remedy; and Sharp, disappointed with such a half-measure, addressed himself at once to the Archbishop of Canterbury on the subject:—

"I am sorry," he says, Nov. 19, 1784, "to see the powers of the late Act, intended for promoting the Episcopal Church in America, so unhappily limited; and the authority of ordaining priests and deacons for Independent States confined to the Bishop of London alone, though all the other Bishops, as Bishops of Christ's Catholic Church, are equally entitled to exercise that authority: and I am still much more sorry to find, that neither the Bishop of London, nor any of the other Bishops, have yet obtained authority to consecrate a Bishop for foreign parts, either separately or jointly. I should not have presumed to have troubled your Grace with so long a letter on this subject, had I not lately been informed that an American clergyman, who calls himself a *loyalist*, is actually gone down to Scotland with a view of obtaining consecration from some of the remaining *non-juring* Bishops in that kingdom, who still affect among themselves

¹ Memoirs of Granville Sharp, p. 215.

a nominal jurisdiction from the Pretender's appointment ; and he proposes, afterwards, to go over to America, in hopes of obtaining jurisdiction over several *Episcopal congregations* in Connecticut. So that it is really a measure of great importance, that your Grace and the other Bishops should obtain authority to consecrate Bishops for the true Christian Church in every part of the world." ¹

The Clergyman here alluded to was Dr. Samuel Seabury, many years a Missionary of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Long Island, and whom the Clergy of Connecticut had, in 1783, elected to be their Bishop, and commended to the Bishops of the English Church for consecration. The first choice of the Convention had, indeed, fallen on the Rev. Dr. Leaming, who, for the sufferings he underwent during the war of Independence, was regarded as a Confessor. He, however, declined the office on the ground of his infirmities, and Dr. Seabury was then elected. The following is Mr. Sharp's account of the interview between the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Bishop Elect of Connecticut :—

“ Dr. Seabury, on coming to England, called on the Archbishop of Canterbury for consecration, to the great surprise of the Archbishop, who was apprehensive that it might give great offence to the Americans, with whom we had just then made peace ; and therefore his Grace, (the very worthy and learned Dr. Moore,) wished to be allowed some time to consider of the request ; upon which Dr. Seabury very abruptly left the room, saying, ‘ If your Grace will not grant me consecration, I know where to obtain it ;’ and immediately set off for Aberdeen. The Archbishop communicated to G. S. this account of Dr. Seabury's behaviour ; and G. S., in return, informed his Grace, that a General Convention was actually appointed in America for the election of Bishops. On hearing this, the Archbishop gave G. S. authority to assure the Americans, that, if they elected unexceptionable persons, and transmitted proper certificates of their morals and conduct, and of

¹ Memoirs of Granville Sharp, p. 212.

their suitable abilities for so important a charge, he would do every thing in his power to promote their good intentions.”¹

It was certainly only reasonable that the Archbishop should take time to deliberate, and to consult with his suffragans, on a matter of such importance as the consecration of a Bishop for an independent country. Without, indeed, the consent of the crown, he could not legally consecrate; and besides, he might have had scruples about the propriety of doing so, partly from the circumstance of the Bishop Elect not being the choice of the whole Church, and partly from an apprehension of giving umbrage to a Power with whom a treaty of peace had but lately been signed. On the other hand, it was natural that Seabury, an hereditary missionary, who had lived through years and years of disappointed hope, and had seen the Church languish for want of a head, should be impatient of further delay, and that, fearful of legal obstructions, he should, even though it were somewhat precipitately, address himself to Bishops who were unfettered by State connection and of whose sympathies he was well assured. Nor should it be forgotten, that he was strongly advised to adopt this course by one whose name, station, and learning, gave weight to his opinion. Dr. George Berkeley, prebendary of Canterbury, who inherited all his father's zeal for the Colonial Church, had, for some time previously, been in correspondence with Bishop Skinner, of Aberdeen, on the subject of transmitting to America the gift of episcopacy “from the suffering Church of Scotland.” “My reading,” he says, “does not enable me to comprehend how, without an Episcopacy, the Gospel, together with all its divine institutions, can possibly be propagated.” He, moreover, considered that a Bishop consecrated in Scotland would have

¹ Memoirs of Granville Sharp, p. 214.

to encounter fewer prejudices than one who received his commission from Bishops forming part of the legislature of a country against which the Americans had successfully asserted their independence. There do not appear to have been any sufficient grounds for this opinion ; but we cannot help seeing the force of his reason, when he urges it as “ the duty of all and every Bishop of the Church in Scotland to contribute towards the sending into the new world Protestant Bishops before general assemblies can be held, and covenants taken, for their perpetual exclusion.”

With respect to any jealousy on the part of the Church, or Government, of England, which might possibly be excited by such a measure, Dr. Berkeley says, “ I scruple not to give it as my decided opinion, that the King, *some* of his Cabinet Counsellors, all our Bishops, (except, peradventure, the Bishop of St. Asaph, [Shipley]) and all the learned and respectable Clergy in our Church, will at least secretly rejoice, if a Protestant Bishop be sent from Scotland to America ; but more especially if Connecticut be the scene of his ministry.”

But Berkeley was not content, in a matter of such moment, to trust to any general assurance, however strong. He therefore wrote to the Archbishop of Canterbury, informing him of Dr. Seabury's application, and requesting an immediate reply, in case his Grace thought the Scottish Bishops ran any risk in complying with his wish ; but adding, “ that if his Grace was satisfied the consecration might safely proceed, there was no occasion to give any answer.” And Bishop Skinner, who is the authority for this statement, says that “ no answer came.”

From Dr. Seabury's own account, it would appear that he did not even apply to the Scottish Bishops until he had

ascertained that the Government would not "permit a Bishop to be consecrated without the formal request, or at least consent, of Congress, which," he added, "there is no chance of obtaining, and which the Clergy of Connecticut would not apply for, were the chance ever so good." At length, every obstacle having been removed, Dr. Seabury went to Scotland, and was there consecrated on the 14th November, 1784, by Bishops Kilgour, Petrie, and Skinner. Early in the summer of the ensuing year he returned to Connecticut, the first Bishop of our Church (for Talbot and Weldon left no traces behind them) that had been seen in any part of the North American Continent. The number of Episcopal congregations in the province at this time was seventy, and the members of the Church 40,000. Granville Sharp did not, of course, for a moment, doubt the full validity of Bishop Seabury's consecration, but was still as anxious as ever to see the succession conveyed to America through the English branch of the Church. This he rightly considered a matter of the highest importance, and accordingly kept up an active correspondence on the subject with persons of various characters and professions, as Dr. Franklin, Mr. Adams the first Ambassador from the United States, Dr. Rush an eminent physician at Philadelphia of the presbyterian denomination, and the Rev. Mr. Manning a clergyman of Rhode Island. By these means he was enabled to keep the Archbishop fully informed on the subject. Dr. Rush wrote to him, April 27, 1784 :—"I am happy in being able to inform you, that

¹ For the notice of the part taken by Dr. Berkeley in this matter, I am indebted to the valuable and interesting history of the American Church, by the present Bishop of Oxford, who quotes as his authority the MS. documents preserved at Fulham.

attempts are now making to revive the Episcopal Church in the United States. Though a member of the Presbyterian Church, yet I esteem very highly the articles and the worship of the Church of England. . . . Such is the liberality produced among the dissenters by the war, that I do not think they will now object to a Bishop being fixed in each of our States, provided he has no civil revenue or jurisdiction."

In a letter to his brother, Mr. Sharp thus expresses his gratification at the prospect of a successful issue to the labours of himself and others in this great cause. He says, January 10, 1786, "The Church of England is likely to take the lead, and to be gloriously established in America." And a week later the following entry occurs in his journal:—"January 13, 1786. Informed by Mr. Adams, American Ambassador, that the Convention of the Episcopal Church of America (which included Carolina, the Jerseys, and Maryland, as well as Virginia, Pennsylvania, and New York,) have written a letter to the two Archbishops, requesting them to consecrate a person whom they would send; that the letter was inclosed to him, and delivered with his own hand."

The next morning he waited upon the Archbishop of Canterbury, who, he says, "told me, that the requisition is a very proper one, and expressed in very respectful terms; and assured me that he is a sincere friend to what is proposed, and will promote it to the utmost of his power, provided they send persons duly qualified."¹

When all seemed thus prepared, some very formidable difficulties were suggested in respect to the orthodoxy of the persons to be elected, and the alterations which had been made in the Book of Common Prayer. As

¹ Memoirs of Granville Sharp, pp. 222—3.

long as any uncertainty remained on these points, the greatest caution was necessary, and the Archbishop, therefore, on the part of himself and his suffragans, demanded satisfactory proof that the Clergymen to be presented for consecration were in doctrine uncorrupt. In answer to the address of the Convention, the Archbishop thus expressed the unanimous opinion of the English Bishops:—“While we are anxious to give every proof not only of our brotherly affection, but of our facility in forwarding your wishes, we cannot but be extremely cautious lest we should be the instruments of establishing an ecclesiastical system which will be called a branch of the Church of England, but afterwards may possibly appear to have departed from it essentially either in doctrine or discipline.”

The Church at large is under the greatest obligation to the Bishops for the faithful execution of their trust at that critical time. Their Christian firmness, and a little wise delay, gave the Convention an opportunity of withdrawing the most objectionable alterations in their Prayer-Book, which was mainly constructed according to a revision of Archbishop Tillotson and a Committee of Divines in 1689. The preface states, that by an examination of the altered form, “it will appear that this Church is far from intending to depart from the Church of England in any essential point of doctrine, discipline, or worship; or further than local circumstances require;¹ or to deviate, in anything essential to the true meaning of the Thirty-nine Articles.”

On the 17th July, 1786, Mr. Sharp waited on the Archbishop of Canterbury, with a copy of the new American Prayer-Book. And a few days later, July 27, 1786, he writes to his brother as follows:—“The Archbishop

¹ Preface to the (American) Book of Common Prayer.

very obligingly took the trouble to read over to me the letters which he and the Archbishop of York wrote to the American Convention, and the forms of the certificates or testimonials which they proposed as being most satisfactory. The letter is exceedingly well drawn up, with all the solemnity and true Christian propriety that you could possibly wish on the occasion.”¹

This very delicate and protracted, but most important negotiation, was now brought to a successful issue. The Rev. William White and the Rev. Samuel Provoost, who had been duly elected to the sees of Pennsylvania and New York, arrived in London at the end of November, 1786, bearing testimonials signed by the conventions of their respective states. They were at once introduced to the Archbishop of Canterbury by Mr. Granville Sharp, and formally presented to his Grace, a few days afterwards, by Mr. Adams, the American Minister. At length, on the 4th February, 1787, they were consecrated in the chapel of Lambeth Palace, by the Archbishop of Canterbury,² assisted by the Archbishop of York,³ and the Bishops of Bath and Wells,⁴ and Peterborough.⁵

The two Bishops did not linger in England, but embarked a few days after their consecration, and arrived in New York on the 7th of April—Easter-day—a happy omen, as it was considered, for the reviving Church of that country.

Thus, at last, after nearly two centuries of struggle, the Church was perfected in America, and from this moment her course has been rapidly progressive. Before, however, this happy settlement, many of her most devoted children had been driven, by the troubles of the times, to seek a

¹ Memoirs of Granville Sharp, p. 229.

² Dr. Moore.

³ Dr. Markham.

⁴ Dr. Moss.

⁵ Dr. Hinchliffe.

refuge in the provinces which still maintained their allegiance to the British Crown. Thousands of loyalists, as we have seen, passed over to Nova Scotia and Canada; and it was wisely determined to give them the full privileges of that Church to which they were so strongly attached, by forming the remaining British Colonies into an Episcopal see. The person fixed upon, as it were, by common consent, to fill it, was Dr. Chandler; but that admirable man was already suffering from a fatal malady, which compelled him to decline an elevation which he had so well merited. He, however, took the opportunity of recommending, for the office of chief pastor, one who had done and suffered much for the Church; and Dr. Charles Inglis, Rector of Trinity Church, New York, who had been obliged to fly to England for his life, in 1783, was consecrated Bishop of Nova Scotia, on the 12th August, 1787.

We cannot conclude this chapter without a remark on the wonderful growth and expansion of both mother and daughter Church in the half century which has elapsed since the planting of the Episcopate in America. The Church in the Colonies, at the period of their independence, was indeed in "a great strait." Unorganized and imperfect, it was little able to meet and triumph over the persecution to which on all sides it was exposed; for while "without were fightings, within were fears." Yet these troubles, threatening as they seemed, were overruled, by a merciful Providence, for the ultimate benefit of the Church, and were perhaps even necessary for its restoration.

At the time when it seemed almost in danger of dissolution, it was providentially empowered to renew its strength and mount up. That Church which, in 1784, ran the risk of being betrayed into some modification of

Presbyterianism, now numbers twenty-six Bishops, and twelve hundred and thirty-one Clergymen, within its proper borders.¹

Nor has the Mother Church of England, which transmitted the gift of Episcopacy to America, exhibited fewer tokens of life during the same period. Seventeen Bishoprics have been founded in the different colonies and dependencies of the British Crown; and, with a view of marking the increased ratio of progress of late, it may be stated, that fourteen of them have been the work of the last ten years.² All this is cause, not of boasting, but of thankfulness. Very much yet remains to be accomplished; much both at home and abroad; and never was there more cause than at present for adopting the prayer of the Psalmist: "Turn Thee again, thou God of Hosts, look down from heaven: behold, and visit this vine; and the place of the vineyard that Thy right hand hath planted: and the branch that Thou madest so strong for Thyself."³

¹ Two Bishops have been consecrated for the direction of foreign Missions; one, namely, for China, and one for Turkey.

² See Appendix F.

³ Ps. lxxx. 14, 15.

APPENDIX.

A P P E N D I X.

APPENDIX A. p. 17.

Charter of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel.

WILLIAM the Third, by the grace of God, of England, Scotland, France, and Ireland, King, Defender of the Faith, &c. To all Christian People, to whom these Presents shall come, Greeting.

Whereas Wee are credibly informed, That in many of our Plantacons, Colonies and Factories beyond the Seas, belonging to Our Kingdome of England, the Provision for Ministers is very mean ; and many others of Our said Plantacons, Colonies and Factories are wholly destitute, and unprovided of a Mainteynance for Ministers, and the Publick Worshipp of God ; and for Lack of Support and Mainteynance for such, many of Our Loveing Subjects doe want the Administration of God's Word and Sacraments, and seem to be abandoned to Atheism and Infidelity ; and alsoe for Want of Learned and Orthodox Ministers to instruct Our said Loveing Subjects in the Principles of true Religion, divers Romish Priests and Jesuits are the more incouraged to pervert and draw over Our said Loving Subjects to Popish Superstition and Idolatry.

And whereas Wee think it Our Duty, as much as in Us lyes, to promote the Glory of God, by the Instruccoon of Our People in the Christian Religion ; and that it will be highly conducive for accomplishing those Ends, that a sufficient Mainteynance be provided for an Orthodox Clergy to live amongst them, and that such other Provision be made, as may be necessary for the Propagation of the Gospell in those Parts.

And whereas Wee have been well assured, That if Wee would be graciously pleased to erect and settle a Corporacon for the receiving, manageing, and disposeing of the Charity of Our Loving Subjects, divers Persons would be induced to extend their Charity to the Uses and Purposes aforesaid.

Know yee therefore, That Wee have, for the Consideracons aforesaid, and for the better and more orderly carrying on the said Charitable Purposes, of Our speciall Grace, certain Knowledge, and mere Mocon, Willed, Ordained, Constituted, and Appointed, and by these Presents, for Us, Our Heires, and Successors, doe Will, Ordaine, Constitute, Declare, and Grant, That the most Reverend Fathers in God, Thomas Lord Archbishopp of Canterbury, and John Lord Archbishopp of Yorke; The Right Reverend Fathers in God, Henry Lord Bishop of London, William Lord Bishop of Worcester, Our Lord Almoner, Simon Lord Bishop of Ely, Thomas Lord Bishop of Rochester, Deane of Westminster; and the Lords Archbishops of Canterbury and Yorke, the Bishops of London and Ely, the Lord Almoner and Deane of Westminster for the Time being; Edward Lord Bishop of Gloucester, John Lord Bishop of Chichester, Nicholas Lord Bishop of Chester, Richard Lord Bishop of Bath and Wells, Humphry Lord Bishop of Bangor, John Mountague, Doctor of Divinity, Clerke of Our Closett, William Sherlock, Doctor of Divinity, Deane of St. Pauls, William Stanley, Doctor of Divinity, Arch Deacon of London, and the Clerke of the Clossett, of Us, Our Heires and Successors, the Dean of St. Pauls and Arch Deacon of London for the Time being; The two Regius and two Margeret Professors of Divinity of both Our Universities, for the Time being; — Earle of Thannet, Thomas Lord Viscount Weymouth, Francis Lord Guilford, William Lord Digby, Sir Thomas Cookes of Bentley, Sir Richard Bulkley, Sir John Phillipps and Sir Arthur Owen, Baronetts; Sir Humphrey Mackworth, Sir William Prichard, Sir William Russell, Sir Edmund Turner, Sir William Hustler, Sir John Chardin, and Sir Richard Blackmore, Knights; John Hook, Esquire, Serjeant at Law, George Hooper Doctor of Divinity, Deane of Canterbury, George Booth Doctor of Divinity, Archdeacon of Durham, Sir George Wheeler Prebendary of Durham, William Beveridge Doctor of Divinity, Arch Deacon of Colchester,

Sir William Dawes Baronett, Thomas Maningham, Edward Gee, Thomas Lynford, Nathaniel Resbury, Offspring Blackhall, George Stanhope, William Heyley, and Richard Willis, Doctors of Divinity, and Our Chaplaines in Ordinary ; John Mapletoft, Zacheus Isham, John Davies, William Lancaster, Humphrey Hodey, Richard Lucas, John Evans, Thomas Bray, John Gascorth, White Kennett, Lilly Butler, Josiah Woodward, Doctors in Divinity ; Gideon Harvey and Frederick Slare, Doctors of Phisick ; Rowland Cotton, Thomas Jervois, Maynard Colchester, James Vernon Junr. Joseph Neale, Grey Nevill, Thomas Clerk, Peter King, ——— Rock, John Comins, William Melmoth, Thomas Bromfeild, John Raynolds, Dutton Seaman, Whitlock Bulstrode, Samuel Brewster, John Chamberlaine, Richard King, and Daniel Nicoll, Esquires ; Benjamin Lawdell, John Trimmer, Charles Toriano, and John Hodges, Merchants ; William Fleetwood, William Whitfeild, and Samuel Bradford, Masters of Art, and Our Chaplains in Ordinary ; Thomas Little, Batchelor in Divinity ; Thomas Staino, Henry Altham, William Loyd, Henry Shute, Thomas Frank, and William Meeken, Clerks, and their Successors ; to be elected in Manner as hereafter directed, be, and shall for ever hereafter be, and by Vertue of these Presents shall be one Body Politick and Corporate, in Deed and in Name, by the Name of, The Society for the Propagation of the Gospell in Forreigne Parts : And them and their Successors, by the same Name, Wee doe by these Presents, for Us, Our Heires, and Successors, really and fully Make, Ordaine, Constitute, and Declare One Body Politick and Corporate, in Deed and in Name.

And that by the same Name, they and their Successors shall and may have perpetuall Succession.

And that they and their Successors, by that Name, shall and may, for ever hereafter, be Persons Able and Capable in the Law to Purchase, Have, Take, Receive, and Enjoy to them and their Successors, Mannors, Messuages, Lands, Tenements, Rents, Advowsons, Liberties, Privileages, Jurisdictions, Franchises, and other Hereditaments whatsoever, of whatsoever Nature, Kind and Quality they be, in Fee and in Perpetuity, not exceeding the Yearly Value of Two Thousand Pounds beyond Reprizalls ; and alsoe Estates for Lives and for Yeares ; and all other Manner of Goods, Chattells,

and Things whatsoever, of what Name, Nature, Quality, or Value soever they be, for the better Support and Maintenance of an Orthodox Clergy in Forreigne Parts, and other the Uses aforesaid: And to Give, Grant, Let, and Demise, the said Mannors, Messuages, Lands, Tenements, Hereditamts. Goods, Chattells, and Things whatsoever aforesaid, by Lease or Leases, for Terme of Yeares, in Possession at the Time of Granting thereof, and not in Reversion, not exceeding the Terme of One and Thirty Years from the Time of Granting thereof; on which, in Case noe Fine be taken, shall be Reserved the Full Value; and in Case a Fine be taken, shall be Reserved at least a Moyety of the full Value that the same shall reasonably and *Bona Fide* be worth at the Time of such Demise.

And that by the Name aforesaid they shall and may be able to Plead and be Impleaded, Answer and be Answered unto, Defend and be Defended, in all Courts and Places whatsoever, and before whatsoever Judges, Justices, or other Officers of Us, Our Heires and Successors, in all and singular Actions, Plaints, Pleas, Matters and Demands, of what Kind, Nature, or Quality soever they be: And to act and doe all other Matters and Things, in as ample Manner and Forme as any other Our Liege Subjects of this Our Realme of England, being Persons able and capable in the Law, or any other Body Corporate or Politique within this our Realme of England, can, or may have, purchase, receive, possesse, take, enjoy, grant, sett, let, demise, plead and be impleaded, answer, and be answered unto, defend and be defended, doe permitt and execute.

And that the said Society for ever hereafter shall and may have a Common Seale to serve for the Causes and Businesse of them and their Successors: And that it shall and may be lawfull for them and their Successors to change, breake, alter, and make New the said Seale from Time to Time, and at their Pleasure, as they shall think best.

And for the better Execucon of the purposes aforesaid, We doe give and grant to the said Society for the Propagation of the Gospell in Forreigne Parts, and their Successors, That they, and their Successors for ever, shall, upon the Third Friday in February, Yearely, meet at some convenient Place to be appointed by the said Society, or the major Part of them, who shall be present at

any Generall Meeting, betweene the Houres of Eight and Twelve in the Morning ; and that they, or the major Part of such of them that shall then be present, shall choose one President, one or more Vice-president or Vice-presidents, one or more Treasurer or Treasurers, two or more Auditors, one Secretary, and such other Officers, Ministers, and Servants, as shall be thought convenient to serve in the said Offices for the Yeare ensuing : And that the said President and Vice-presidents, and all Officers then elected, shall, before they act in their respective Offices, take an Oath, to be to them administred by the President, or in his Absence by one of the Vice-presidents, of the Yeare preceeding, who are hereby authorized to administer the same, for the faithfull and due Execucon of their respective Offices and Places durning the said Yeare.

And Our further Will and Pleasure is, That the first President of the said Society shall be Thomas, by Divine Providence, Lord Arch Bishop of Canterbury, Primate and Metropolitan of all England : And that the said President shall, within Thirty Dayes after the passing of this Charter, cause Summons to be issued to the severall Members of the said Society herein particularly menconed, to meet at such Time and Place as he shall appoint : And that they, or the major Part of such of them as shall then be present, shall proceed to the Elecccon of one or more Vice-president or Vice-presidents, one or more Treasurer or Treasurers, two or more Auditors, one Secretary, and such other Officers, Ministers, and Servants, as to them shall seem meet ; which said Officers, from the Time of Their Elecccon into their respective Offices, shall continue therein untill the Third Friday in February, which shall be in the Yeare of Our Lord, One Thousand Seaven Hundred and One, and from thence forwards untill others shall be chosen into their Places, in Manner aforesaid.

And that if it shall happen, that any of the Persons at any Time chosen into any of the said Offices shall dye, or on any Account be removed from such Office at any Time between the said yearly Dayes of Election, that in such Case it shall be lawfull for the surviving and continueing President, or any one of the Vice-presidents, to issue Summons to the severall Members of the Body Corporate, to meet at the usuall Place of the Annuall

Meeting of the said Society, at such Time as shall be specified in the said Summons; and that such Members of the said Body Corporate, who shall meet upon such Summons, or the major Part of them, shall and may choose an Officer or Officers into the Roome or Place of such Person or Persons, soe dead or removed, as to them shall seem meet.

And Wee doe further Grant unto the said Society for the Propagation of the Gospell in Forreigne Parts, and their Successors, That they and their Successors shall and may, on the third Friday in every Month, yearely, for ever hereafter, and oftner if Occasion require, meet at some convenient Place to be appointed for that Purpose, to transact the Businesse of the said Society, and shall and may at any Meeting on such Third Friday in the Month, Elect such Persons to be Members of the said Corporation, as they, or the major Part of them then present, shall think Beneficiall to the Charitable Designes of the said Corporation.

And Our Will and Pleasure is, That noe Act done in any Assembly of the said Society shall be effectuell and valid, unlesse the President or some one of the Vice-presidents, and Seaven other Members of the said Company at the least, be present, and the major Part of them consenting thereunto.

And Wee further Will, and by these Presents, for Us, Our Heires and Successors, doe Ordaine and Grant unto the said Society for the Propagation of the Gospell in Forreigne Parts, and their Successors, That they, and their Successors, or the major Part of them who shall be present at the first and second Meeting of the said Society, or at any Meeting on the Third Friday in the Months of November, Frebruary, May, and August, yearely for ever, and at noe other Meetings of the said Society, shall and may Consult, Determine, Constitute, Ordaine, and Make any Constitutions, Lawes, Ordinances and Statutes whatsoever; as alsoe to execute Leases for Yeares, as aforesaid, which to them, or the major Part of them then present, shall seem reasonable, profitable, or requisite, for, touching or concerning the Good Estate, Rule, Order and Government of the said Corporation, and the more effectuell promoteing the said Charitable Designes: All which Lawes, Ordinances, and Constitucons, soe to be made, ordained and established, as aforesaid, Wee Will, Command, and Ordaine, by

these Presents, for Us, Our Heires, and Successors, to be from Time to Time, and at all Times hereafter, kept and performed in all Things as the same ought to be, on the Penalties and Amercements in the same to be imposed and limited, soe as the same Lawes, Constitucons, Ordinances, Penalties, and Amercements, be reasonable, and not repugnant or contrary to the Laws and Statutes of this Our Realme of England.

And Wee doe likewise Grant unto the said Society for Propagation of the Gospell in Forreigne Parts, and their Successors, that they and their Successors, or the major Part of such of them as shall be present at any Meeting of the said Society, shall have Power from Time to Time, and at all Times hereafter, to depute such Persons as they shall think fitt to take Subscriptions, and to gather and collect such Moneys as shall be by any Person or Persons contributed for the Purposes aforesaid.

And shall and may remove and displace such Deputyes as often as they shall see Cause soe to doe, and to cause publick Notification to be made of this Charter, and the Powers hereby granted, in such Manner as they shall think most conduceable to the Furtherance of the said Charity.

And Our further Will and Pleasure is, That the said Society shall Yearely, and every Yeare, give an Account in Writing to Our Lord Chancellor, or Lord Keeper of the Great Seale of England for the Time being, the Lord Cheife Justice of the King's Bench, and the Lord Cheife Justice of the Common Pleas, or any two of them, of the severall Summe or Summes of Money by them received and laid out by vertue of these Presents, or any Authority hereby given, and of the Management and Disposicon of the Revenues and Charityes aforesaid.

And lastly Our Pleasure is, That these Our Letters Patents, or the Inrollment thereof, shall be good, firme, valid, and effectuell in the Law, according to Our Royall Intentions herein before declared. In Witnes whereof, Wee have caused these Our Letters to be made Patents. Witnes Ourselfe at Westminster the Sixteenth Day of June, in the Thirteenth Yeare of our Reigne.

Per Breve de Privato Sigillo,

COCKS.

(L. S.)

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APPENDIX B. p. 21.

The original Parchment Roll, dated Oct. 17, 1701—Dec. 30, 1709, contains the names, which are (with few exceptions) in autograph, of the following persons among many others:—

THO. CANTUAR.....	(Tenison.)
JO. EBOR	(Sharp.)
BISHOP OF LONDON	(Compton.)
BISHOP OF BANGOR	(Jones.)
R. BATH AND WELLS	(Kidder.)
N. CESTRIENS	(Strafford.)
JO. CHICHESTER	(Williams.)
BISHOP OF ELY.....	(Patrick.)
BISHOP OF GLOUCESTER	(Fowler.)
H. HEREFORD	(Humphreys.)
BISHOP OF LICHFIELD AND COVENTRY...	(Hough.)
J.A. LINCOLN	(Gardiner.)
J. NORWICH .	(Moore.)
W. OXON	(Talbot.)
RIC. PETERBOROUGH	(Cumberland.)
GEO. SARUM	(Burnet.)
W. WORCESTER	(Lloyd.)
THO. SODOR AND MAN .	(Wilson.)
GEO. STANHOPE	(Dean of Canterbury.)
RICH. WILLIS	(Dean of Lincoln.)
THE DEAN OF NORWICH	(Prideaux.)
WILL. STANLEY	(Dean of St. Asaph.)

AFTERWARDS.

WILL. WAKE	Abp. of Canterbury.
JO. POTTER	Abp. of Canterbury.
WILL. BEVERIDGE	Bp. of St. Asaph.
EDM. GIBSON	Bp. of London.
WHITE KENNETT	Bp. of Peterborough.
OFFSPRING BLACKHALL	Bp. of Exeter.
FR. GASTRELL	Bp. of Chester.
CHARLES TRIMNELL ...	Bp. of Norwich.

GUILFORD (LORD).
GEO. WHEELER (SIR)
SERGEANT HOOKE.
JOHN CHAMBERLAYNE.
CHARDIN (SIR JOHN).

Row : COTTON.
H. HODY.
J. EVELYN.
R. NELSON.

APPENDIX C. p. 45.

Extract from the "Instructions" given to Earl Clarendon, when Lord Cornbury, and Governor of New York, January, 1703.

60. You shall take especial care that God Almighty be devoutly and duly served throughout your government, the Book of Common Prayer, as by law established, read each Sunday and Holyday, and the blessed Sacrament administered according to the rites of the Church of England ; you shall be careful that the churches already built there be well and orderly kept, and that more be built as the Colony shall by God's blessing be improved ; and that, besides a competent maintenance to be assigned to the Minister of each orthodox church, a convenient house be built at the common charge for each Minister, and a competent proportion of land assigned him for a glebe and exercise of his industry. And you are to take care that the Parishes be so limited and settled, as you shall find most convenient for the accomplishing this good work.*

61. You are not to prefer any Minister to any Ecclesiastical Benefice in that our Province without a certificate from the Right Reverend Father in God, the Bishop of London, of his being conformable to the doctrine and discipline of the Church of

* This clause, and clause 63, are almost verbatim the form of "Instructions" still sent out to the Colonial Governors ; the Bishop of the Diocese, of course, being substituted for the Bishop of London. See Anderson's History of the Church of England in the Colonies, p. 478.

England, and of a good life and conversation. And if any person preferred already to a Benefice shall appear to you to give scandal, either by his doctrine or manners, you are to use the best means for the removal of him, and to supply the vacancy in such manner as we have directed.

62. You are to give order forthwith (if the same be not already done) that every orthodox Minister within your government be one of the Vestry in his respective parish, and that no Vestry be held without him, except in case of sickness, or that, after notice of a Vestry summoned, he omit to come.

63. You are to enquire whether there be any Minister within your government, who preaches and administers the sacrament in any orthodox church or chapel without being in due orders, and to give an account thereof to the said Bishop of London.

APPENDIX D. p. 85.

As the Missionaries were sent into countries where there was no Bishop, a Paper of "Instructions," was given to them, in regard to their duty, before their departure—their conduct during the voyage, and on their arrival—and lastly, with respect to their Pastoral Charge.

The following are among the most important:—

"That before their Departure they wait upon his Grace the Lord Archbishop of Canterbury, their Metropolitan, and upon the Lord Bishop of London, their Diocesan, to receive their Paternal Benediction and Instructions.

"That they always keep in their View the great Design of their Undertaking, *viz.* To promote the Glory of Almighty God, and the Salvation of Men, by Propagating the Gospel of our Lord and Saviour.

"That they often consider the Qualifications requisite for those who would effectually promote this Design, *viz.*—A sound Knowledge and hearty Belief of the Christian Religion; an Apostolical Zeal, tempered with Prudence, Humility, Meekness, and Patience; a fervent Charity towards the Souls of Men; and finally, that

Temperance, Fortitude, and Constancy, which become good Soldiers of Jesus Christ.

“That in order to the obtaining and preserving the said Qualifications, they do very frequently in their Retirements offer up fervent Prayers to Almighty God for his Direction and Assistance; converse much with the Holy Scriptures; seriously reflect upon their Ordination Vows; and consider the Account which they are to render to the great Shepherd and Bishop of our Souls at the last Day.

“That avoiding all Names of Distinction, they endeavour to preserve a Christian Agreement and Union one with another, as a Body of Brethren, of one and the same Church, united under the superior Episcopal Order, and all engaged in the same great Design of Propagating the Gospel; and to this End, keeping up a Brotherly Correspondence, by meeting together at certain Times, as shall be most convenient, for mutual Advice and Assistance.”

APPENDIX E. p. 355.

At a Special Meeting of the Society held on the 7th April, 1749, Present—The Archbishops of Canterbury and York, and Ten Suffragan Bishops, the following letter¹ from the Lords Commissioners of Trade and Plantations was read:—

“Whitehall, April 6th, 1749.

“SIR,—His Majesty having given directions that a number of persons should be sent to the Province of Nova Scotia, in North America, I am directed by my Lords Commissioners for Trade and Plantations, to desire you will acquaint the Society for Propagating the Gospel in Foreign Parts, that it is proposed to settle the said persons in six Townships, and that a particular spot will be set apart in each of them for building a Church, and 400 acres of land adjacent thereto granted in perpetuity, free from the payment of any Quit Rent, to a Minister and his successors, and 200

¹ Journal, Vol. XI. p. 105.

in like manner to a Schoolmaster. Their Lordships therefore recommend to the Society to name a Minister and Schoolmaster for each of the said Townships, hoping that they will give such encouragements to them as the Society shall think proper, until their lands can be so far cultivated as to afford a sufficient support.

“I am further to acquaint you that each Clergyman who shall be sent with the persons who are to form this first settlement, will have a grant of 200 acres of land, and each Schoolmaster 100 acres in perpetuity to them and their heirs, as also 30 acres over and above their said respective quotas, for every person of which their families shall consist; that they will likewise be subsisted during their passage, and for twelve months after their arrival, and furnished with arms, ammunition, and materials for husbandry, building their houses, &c. in like manner as the other settlers.

“Their Lordships think proper that the Society should be informed that (except the Garrison of Annapolis) all the inhabitants of the said Province, amounting to 20,000, are French Roman Catholics, and that there are a great number of priests resident among them, who act under the directions of the French Bishop of Quebec.

“At the same time their Lordships would recommend it to the consideration of the Society, whether it may not be advisable to choose some amongst others of the Ministers and Schoolmasters to be sent, who by speaking the French language may be particularly useful in cultivating a sense of the true Protestant Religion among the said inhabitants, and educating their children in the principles thereof.

“I am, SIR, your most obedient humble servant,

“JOHN POWNALL, Solicitor, &c.

“Clerk of the Reports.”

APPENDIX F.

TABLE OF AMERICAN DIOCESES AND BISHOPS,
1845.

Dioceſes.	Date of Erection.	Name of Biſhop, 1845.	Date of Conſecration.
Connecticut	1784	Thomas Church Brownall, D.D.	1819
Pennſylvania	1787	Alonzo Potter, D.D.	1845
New York	1787	Benj. Tredwell Onderdonk, D.D.	1830
Virginia	1790	William Meade, D.D.	1829
—	—	John Johns, D.D. (<i>Coadjutor</i>) .	1842
Maryland	1792	W. Robinson Whittingham, D.D.	1840
South Carolina . . .	1795	Chriſtopher E. Gadsden, D.D. .	1840
Maſſachuſetts	1797	Manton Eaſtburn, D.D. . . .	1842
New Jerſey	1815	George Waſhington Doane, D.D.	1832
Ohio	1819	Charles Pettit McIlvaine, D.D. .	1832
North Carolina . . .	1823	Levi Silliman Ives, D.D. . . .	1831
Vermont	1832	John Henry Hopkins, D.D. . .	1832
Kentucky	1832	Benjamin Boſworth Smith, D.D.	1832
Tenneſſee	1834	James Hervey Otey, D.D. . . .	1834
Illinois	1835	Philander Chase, D.D.	1819
Indiana, Wiſconſin, and Iowa	1835	Jackson Kemper, D.D.	1835
Michigan	1836	Samuel Allen McCoskry, D.D. .	1836
Louiſiana	1838	Leonidas Polk, D.D.	1838
Western New York . .	1839	Wm. Heathcote De Lancey, D.D.	1839
Georgia	1841	Stephen Elliott, D.D.	1841
Delaware	1841	Alfred Lee, D.D.	1841
Maine and Rhode Iſland	1843	John P. Kewley Henſhawe, D.D.	1843
New Hampſhire . . .	1844	Carlton Chase, D.D.	1844
Alabama	1844	Nicholas H. Cobbs, D.D. . . .	1844
Missouri	1844	Cicero S. Hawks	1844
Arkanaſas	1844	George W. Freeman, D.D. . . .	1844
Amoy, China	1844	William Boone.	1844
Turkiſh Dominions . .	1844	Horatio Southgate	1844

TABLE OF COLONIAL DIOCESES AND BISHOPS,

1845.

Dioceses.	Date of Erection.	Name of Bishop, 1845.	Date of Consecration.
Nova Scotia	1787	John Inglis, D.D.	1825
Quebec	1793	George J. Mountain, D.D. . . .	1836
Toronto	1839	John Strachan, D.D.	1839
Newfoundland	1839	Edward, Feild, D.D.	1844
Jamaica	1824	Aubrey George Spencer, D.D. . .	1843
Barbados	1824	Thomas Parry, D.D.	1842
Antigua	1842	Daniel G. Davis, D.D.	1842
Guiana	1842	William Piercy Austin, D.D. . .	1842
Calcutta	1814	Daniel Wilson, D.D.	1832
Madras	1835	George Thomas Spencer, D.D. . .	1837
Bombay	1837	Thomas Carr, D.D.	1837
Australia	1836	William G. Broughton, D.D. . .	1836
New Zealand	1841	George A. Selwyn, D.D.	1841
Tasmania	1842	Francis Russell Nixon, D.D. . .	1842
Gibraltar	1842	George Tomlinson, D.D.	1842
Fredericton	1845	John Medley, D.D.	1845
Colombo	1845	James Chapman, D.D.	1845

If to the foregoing list be added—

For the Congregations of the }
Church of England in France. } M. H. F. Luscombe, LL.D.
Anglican Church at Jerusalem. M. S. Alexander, D.D. ;

the whole number of Bishops of our Communion in other countries amounts to *forty-seven* ; and, singularly enough, the number at home, including England, Ireland, and Scotland, is at present *precisely the same*—making in all **NINETY-FOUR**.

SOCIETY FOR THE PROPAGATION OF THE GOSPEL.

Before bringing this Volume to a close, it may be well to add a few particulars respecting that Society, which, for a period of fourscore years, so largely contributed to the support of the Church in the North American Colonies.

The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, if it may not in strictness of speech be called the organ of the Church for the department of missions, is at least entitled to the credit of having led the way in this great work—and has, from the beginning, enjoyed the confidence, and been guided by the counsels, of the spiritual rulers of our Church.

The successive Archbishops of Canterbury, from the time of William the Third to the present day, have been the Presidents of the Society, whose proceedings have been uniformly in strict accordance with the spirit of our Ecclesiastical system.

At the Anniversary Festival, which has been celebrated without interruption since the year 1702, the sermon, with rare exceptions, has been preached by a Bishop; and in this way the claims of the Society have been upheld by Burnet, Beveridge, Sherlock, Berkeley, Butler, Secker, Warburton, Newton, Lowth, Hurd, Porteus, Horsley, Burgess, and Van Mildert.¹

For the carrying on of its great designs, the Society was dependent upon voluntary contributions, whether by gift or annual subscription. The following table of income and expenditure for the first five years will be read with interest:—

		Income.	Expenditure.
To Midsummer	1702 . . .	£1,537 . . .	£ 452
"	1703 . . .	952 . . .	588
"	1704 . . .	1,146 . . .	864
"	1705 . . .	1,507 . . .	1,843
"	1706 . . .	1,205 . . .	2,519

From 1710 to 1750, the annual receipts averaged 2,150*l.*; from 1750 to 1770, the average rose to 4,000*l.*, but rapidly fell soon after the commencement of the political troubles in 1776. At no period was the ordinary income of the Society sufficient to meet

¹ A volume containing twelve anniversary sermons preached before the Society, has recently been published. Sharpe: London—1845.

its annual expenditure; and, therefore, it soon became necessary to have recourse to some extraordinary means for raising the amount requisite to carry on its operations.

The plan determined on was to present a petition to the Crown, to authorize a general collection in all the Churches and Chapels throughout the Country;—and here, perhaps, a brief account of the several Royal Letters, in behalf of the Society, may be acceptable.

It has already been stated¹ that an ordinance was passed in 1649, during the Protectorate of Oliver Cromwell, for a general collection in aid of the “President and Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in *New England*.”

In the anniversary sermon, for the year 1709, the Bishop of Chester² offered a suggestion, which has proved of lasting benefit to the Missions of the Church. After showing how persons of all classes and conditions should combine in the great work of propagating the gospel throughout the world, he concludes with a practical proposal, which we give in his own words, not without a hope that it may some day be acted upon more fully than ever it has yet been:—

“And for the more effectual securing the alms and prayers of all good Christians towards the carrying on of this great work, give me leave humbly to propose a few things to you by way of question: As whether it would not be proper to recommend it to our Governors, (especially since they have been already pleased to countenance and authorize this work,) to set apart a day once in the year, by public fasting and prayer, to implore God’s blessing upon it? And to make this as easy to all persons as may be, whether Good Friday, which is already appointed to be publicly kept holy, with fasting and prayer, in commemoration of the Son of God’s dying for the redemption of all mankind, Gentiles as Jews, might not be a proper day for this purpose?—especially considering that our church itself has led us to this thought, by making one of its collects, for that day, a prayer for the conversion of all ‘Jews, Turks, infidels, and heretics:’ and whether one or two collects more added, of the same kind, would not

¹ Page 9.

² Sir William Dawes, Bart., afterwards Archbishop of York.

sufficiently accommodate the service of that day to this use? And farther, whether if a public collection were to be made in all churches, especially in the churches of these two great cities, (London and Westminster,) on that day, for the promoting of this work, it would not be both a very proper and a very great help and encouragement to it?"¹

In consequence of this suggestion, the Society, at a meeting held on the 19th December, 1710, agreed, "That an humble address be made to her Majesty, representing the condition of the Society, and praying that she would be pleased to issue her Royal Proclamation, or her Letter, for a collection to be made in churches and chapels on Good Friday, and in other places of public worship on the Sunday following, in the cities of London and Westminster, and bills of mortality, for promoting the designs of the Society."²

A memorial was accordingly presented to the Queen by the Archbishop of York,³ to which her Majesty was graciously pleased to answer, that "she thought not fit a general collection to be made on Good Friday, because she was informed it had been customary to make charitable collections for other uses on that day, but that it was her Royal intention to grant the request of the Society at a more proper opportunity."⁴ Trinity Sunday was the day ultimately fixed; and a Royal Letter was accordingly addressed to the Bishops of London and Winchester, for a collection within the limits above specified. The returns under this *first* Royal Letter amounted to the sum of 3,060*l*.⁵

Three years afterwards, a similar application, with, however, a more comprehensive prayer, was presented to her Majesty on behalf of the Society, and she was again pleased to return a favourable answer, and to address her Royal Letters to the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Bishops of London, Durham, Winchester, Exeter, Rochester, Bristol, and Chester, ordering collections to be made in the cities of London and Westminster, with the borough of Southwark, on Trinity Sunday, (May 9, 1713,) and in the cities of Exeter and Bristol, with the sea-port towns of Newcastle-upon-Tyne, Plymouth, Bideford, Barnstaple, Whitehaven, and Liverpool, on the 11th July following.

¹ Report for 1709.

² Journal, vol. i. p. 328.

³ Dr. Sharp.

⁴ Journal, ii. p. 27.

⁵ Report for 1713.

"These Royal Letters," says the Report of the Society, for 1714, "were attended with so good success, by the blessing of God on the fitting care and importunity of the clergy, and others, in collecting the munificent charities of a willing people," that they brought into the treasury of the Society no less an amount than 3,887*l*.

In 1717, a third collection, under authority of Letters from King George I., was made in the cities of London and Westminster, and within a circuit of ten miles, as also in "the principal towns trading to the plantations in America," the same as already mentioned on a former occasion. The day appointed for making the collection was the Third Sunday in Advent. The amount raised was 3,727*l*.

No other general collection was made until 1741, in which year the Society, having far exceeded its income, addressed King George II. in a memorial, stating that it "had distributed more than one hundred thousand copies of the Bible, Common Prayer, and other religious books, and that God had so far blessed its endeavours, that not only some thousands of Indians and Negroes had been instructed and baptized by the Missionaries, but likewise by their means and procurement many churches had been built in several parts of America, where, at present, in populous congregations, the Word of God is taught, and the Sacraments administered according to the Liturgy of the Church of England," and on these grounds praying his Majesty to issue his Royal Letter for a general collection of charity throughout England and Wales, for the good uses of this Society. The petition was granted, and the Letter addressed, through the Archbishops of Canterbury and York, to the several suffragans in the two provinces.¹

This, which was the first collection directed to be made *throughout the whole country*, produced a considerable sum for these times nearly 15,022*l*.

The next letter was issued, in 1751, by King George II., who himself set the example of a liberal contribution, by a donation of 500*l*. The proceeds of this letter were 19,783*l*.

No Royal Letter after this was granted till 1779, when George III.

¹ Report for 1742.

in the midst of the American war of independence, authorized a general collection, and contributed from the privy purse a sum of 500*l*. The total receipts on this occasion were 19,371*l*.

This was the last Royal Letter in aid of the Society during that century ; the last therefore which properly belongs to this volume. As, however, it may interest some to know the amount of subsequent collections, the following summary statement is added. The Royal Letter of 1819 (February 10) was in aid of a special object of very considerable importance—the erection of a mission college at Calcutta. It produced 45,747*l*.

The receipts on account of similar Letters since issued have been as follow :—

Date.	Amount raised.
May 5, 1831	£35,600
May 16, 1835	34,940
June 18, 1838	39,520
July 28, 1841	35,692

The Queen's Letter last issued is dated September 9, 1844, but the returns are not yet complete.

It is worth remarking, how large an amount of good—not of a transitory but of a permanent character—was effected by means which, even taking into account these great periodical offerings of the Church, were still far from considerable. At a time when there was no other source from which the spiritual wants of the American Colonies could be supplied, the Society was enabled to maintain in those parts a regularly-increasing number of Missionaries, till, in 1776, they amounted to eighty-six, besides twenty-one Schoolmasters and Catechists. But it should be remembered, that its operations were not *confined* to these provinces. As early as the year 1732, a Missionary (the Rev. Mr. Smith) was sent to the Bahamas, and a second in 1739, while a Catechist was maintained in Barbados for the instruction of the Negroes. On the Mosquito shore, both a Missionary and a Catechist were supported for several years. In 1752, an itinerant Missionary was sent to the Negroes in Guinea ; and a native African, educated and ordained in England, the Rev. Philip Quaque, was stationed on the Gold Coast, where he continued to officiate for above fifty years, from 1765 to 1816.

It will not be considered inappropriate to record in this place the names of the Secretaries, by whom, in succession, the business of the Society was conducted for a whole century.

John Chamberlain, Esq., was the first. He was a man of some literary distinction, Fellow of the Royal Society, and author of "Dissertations on the Most Memorable Events of the Old and New Testaments," as well as of several miscellaneous pieces.

On his resignation, in 1712, he was succeeded by William Taylor, Esq., who died three years afterwards.

Dr. Humphreys held the office from 1716 to 1739. He was Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge, and thence preferred to the Vicarage of Ware, in Hertfordshire, but is, perhaps, best known as the author of "An Historical Account" of the Society down to the year 1728. By his will he left a legacy of 300*l.* to the Society.

He was succeeded by Dr. Philip Bearcroft, Master of the Charterhouse, who, in 1744, preached the Anniversary Sermon, which forms the sequel to the historical sketch of his predecessor. He was Secretary for twenty-two years, from 1739 to 1761.

We can in no way so well speak of his successor as in the words of Archbishop Secker, who, writing to Dr. Johnson of New York, December 10, 1761, says:—"Dr. Bearcroft is dead, and we have chosen Secretary, Dr. Daniel Burton, who was many years my Chaplain, and is Chancellor of the diocese of Oxford, and Canon of Christ Church, a very pious, and sensible, and diligent, and careful, and disinterested man; who, I am fully persuaded, will give entire satisfaction, both on this side the water and on yours."¹

On Dr. Burton's resignation in 1773, Dr. Hind, Rector of St. Anne's, Westminster, was elected, but held the office only five years, when he was succeeded by Dr. Morice, Chaplain in Ordinary to King George III., Rector of All Hallows, Bread Street, (the church in which Milton was baptized,) and of Wennington, Essex. Dr. Morice was Secretary for a long series of years, extending far beyond the time comprised within the present Volume.

¹ Chandler's Life of Johnson, p. 136.

I N D E X.

I N D E X.

- Adams, Mr., 407, 408.
 ——— Rev J., 72; character of, 74.
 Africans, instructed by S. P. G., 60, 270.
 Albany, 33, 236, 240, 264, 266, 269, 284, 286, 290, 339; settlement of, 282.
 Albemarle, 69, 77.
 ——— Duke of, 47.
 Allen, Mr., 193.
 Alliston, Rev. D., 125, 157.
 Amboy, 27, 36, 44, 142, 144, 147, 158, 161, 164.
 America Precinct, 240.
 American Church, Address from, 354.
 ——— Prayer Book, 409,
 ——— States, the Church and sects in, 12, 22, 37, 412; settlement of, 13, 342; opposition to the Church in, 232, 242, 280.
 ——— War, 89, 129, 152, 161, 210, 303—306, 328; effects of on the Church, 243, 245, 249, 302, 305, 309, 311, 313, 328; loyalty of the clergy, (see Missionaries;) termination of, 291.
 ——— Whig, published, 157, 160.
 ——— Dioceses and Bishops, 427.
 Amherst, General, 290.
 Amsterdam, New, 274.
 Amwell, 150.
 Andrew, St., 58, 273.
 Andrews, Rev. Samuel, 399.
 ——— Rev. William, 266.
 Annapolis, 163, 355, 360, 372, 426.
 Anne, Fort, 265, 266.
 — (Queen) presents communion plate to Philadelphia Church, 114; appoints clergymen for the Indians, 264, 266.
 Apoquiminick, 310.
 Apthorp, Rev. E., 233.
 Aramuskett, 85.
 Arlington, 214, 235.
 Arnold, Rev. Jonathan, 189.
 Ashurst, Mr., 9.
 ——— Sir William, 259.
 Atterbury, Dr., 379.
 Auchmuty, Rev. Samuel, 273, 307, 325, 332; his death, 341.
 Augusta, 100.
 Avery, Rev. Mr., 306.
 Babcock, Rev. Luke, 306, 307.
 Bacon, Chancellor, 347.
 Badger, Rev. Mr., 250.
 Bagot, Bishop, 345.
 Bahamas, 433.
 Bailey, Rev. Jacob, 230, 246, 255; his persecution, 319.
 Balfour, Rev. James, 353.
 Baltimore, Lord, colonizes Maryland, 13; grant to, of land in Newfoundland, 347.
 Baptism, general neglect of, 238.
 Barbados, 433.
 Barclay, Rev. Henry, 282, 286.
 ——— Mr. Henry, 284.
 Barclay's Apology for the Quakers, 36, 41.
 Barnett, Rev. John, 87.
 Baron, Rev. Robert, 59.
 Bartholomew, St., 59.
 Barton, Rev. Thomas, account of his mission, 127; testimony to, 132; remarks on fanaticism, 135; on the persecution of the missionaries, 139.
 Bartow, Rev. John, 275.
 Bass, Rev. Edward, 219, 255.
 Bath-county, 69, 77; Bath-town, 85.
 Bathurst, Lord, 172.
 Batwell, Rev. Mr., 315.

- Baxter, Rev. Richard, 9.
 Bayley, Dr., 251.
 Bayonne, 218.
 Beach, Rev. John, 195, 233, 254, 331; his education, 201; testimonial of, 202; state of his mission, 203, 205; increase of congregation, *ib.*; sermon before the Convention, 208; controversy with Independents, 209; his long services, 213; death and character, 215.
 Bearcroft, Rev. Dr. Philip, Secretary to S. P. G., 434.
 Beardsley, Rev. Mr., 306, 341.
 Beaufort, 58.
 Beckett, Rev. William, 121.
 Bedford, 151.
 ——— Duke of, 393.
 Belcher, Chief Justice, 357, 358, 367, 370, 372.
 Bellamont, Lord, 33; memorial on behalf of the Indians, 264.
 Bennet, Rev. Joseph, 363.
 Benson, Bishop, 394.
 Bergen, 22.
 Berkeley, Bishop, 154; Plan for supplying the colonies with clergymen, 168; sails to America, 170; returns to England, 171; his character, 172; part of the subscriptions given to S. P. G., 173.
 ——— Dean, 405.
 ——— Lord, 141.
 Berks, 133.
 Bermuda, Gates' and Somers' expedition wrecked at, 4; Ferrars' bequest to Governor for Bermuda college, 7; Dr. Berkeley's plan for a college, 168; charter granted, 170; fund disposed of by Sir R. Walpole, 170.
 Bethesda, 99.
 Bewell, Mr., 221.
 Beveridge, Bishop, 31.
 Bible, (Indian), translated, 10, 320.
 Bishops, account of the struggle for the episcopate, 375; Archbishop Laud's design, 376; memorial from Burlington, 378; proposal to Convocation, 379; memorials to Queen Anne and George I., 143, 380; petition from the colonies, 384; fund for the support of, 146, 386, 394; application from clergy of New England, 387; exertions of Bishop Secker and others, 389; appeals from missionaries, 396; Boston Convention, 396; Granville Sharp's remarks, 402; act to empower bishops to ordain for the colonies, 403; Sharp's appeal, 403; interview with the Archbishop of Canterbury, 404; consecrated for the United States, 410; consecrated for the colonies, 412.
 Bishops in America required, 32, 34, 37, 81, 86, 87, 104, 111, 116, 124, 125, 134, 142, 144, 153, 157, 162, 166, 179, 185, 188, 199, 204, 207, 212, 237, 265, 281, 293, 300, 318, 325, 340, 398.
 ——— (Nonjuring), consecration by, 146, 386.
 Bisse, Bishop, 379.
 Blackmore, Sir Richard, 21.
 Blair, Rev. James, Missionary at New Plymouth, 8.
 ——— Rev. John, Missionary in Carolina, 64; account of his labours, 65.
 Blandford, 232.
 Bloomer, Rev. Mr., 333, 339.
 Bonaventura, 353.
 Bonavista, 349, 350.
 Bondet, Rev. Mr., 282.
 Books dispersed, (See S. P. G.)
 Bosomworth, Rev. Mr., 100.
 Boston, 24, 28, 29, 32, 38, 178, 179, 181, 187, 246, 248, 257, 303, 332; first Church erected and endowed, 14.
 ——— College, 42.
 Bostwick, Mr., 236.
 Bours, Rev. Peter, 219.
 Boyd, Rev. John, 77.
 Boyle, Hon. Robert, Governor of New England Corporation, 10; Practice of Piety translated, 10; bequest to New England Society, 11.
 Braddock, General, 129, 287.
 Braintree, 245; Colburn's gift for, 229.
 Brantford, 197.
 Bray, Rev. Dr., 21, 24, 95; Commissary for Maryland, 15; plan for the propagation of the gospel, 15, 16; returns to England, 16.
 Breynton, Rev. Dr. John, 247, 358, 367, 369; testimony of, 371.
 Bristol, 145, 178, 218, 247.
 Brockwell, Rev. Mr., 220, 221.
 Brooke, Rev. John, 144, 147, 271, 281.
 Brookhaven, 162.
 Brown, Rev. Daniel, 42, 174, 175, 178.

- Browne, Andrew, 23.
 ——— Rev. Isaac, 162, 167, 188, 341.
 ——— Rev. Marmaduke, 244.
 Brunswick, 88, 160, 163, 297, 307, 332, 341.
 Bryzelius, Rev. P., 357, 365.
 Bucke, Rev. Mr., 4.
 Bulkeley, Mr., 370.
 Bull's Bay, 347, 352.
 Burger, Rev. Mr., 356.
 Burgoyne, General, 321, 339,
 Burke, Mr., account of clergy in Maryland, 13.
 Burlington, 35, 36, 44, 117, 142, 145, 146, 148, 149, 160, 265, 378, 381, 385.
 Burnet, Bishop, 25; sermon before S. P. G., 19.
 Burrough's Book, 39.
 Burton, Rev. Dr., 91.
 ——— Rev. Dr. Daniel, Secretary to S. P. G., 434.
 Bute, 87.
 Butler, Bishop, 344, 374.
 Byles, Rev. Mather, account of, 248.
 Cabot, Sebastian, 346.
 Cambridge, 39, 43, 73, 173, 193, 245, 256, 273.
 Camp, Rev. Mr., 218.
 Campbell, Rev. Colin, 148.
 ——— Dugald, 386.
 ——— Lord William, 370.
 Canaijohare, 320.
 Caner, Rev. Dr., 195, 231, 234, 250; testimony of the clergy, 245; seeks refuge in Nova Scotia, 246, 247, 371; outline of his history, 246; sails for England, 247; returns to Rhode Island, 247.
 Canogoeheg, 128.
 Carbonear, 352.
 Carlisle, 128, 130.
 Carnarvon, 134, 137.
 Carolina, 41; settlement of, 47; mortality at, 50; war with the natives, 55.
 ——— North, general account of, 64; Governor Eden's account of, 69; religious state, 67, 72, 74, 86.
 ——— South, religious state, 23, 35, 54, 56, 60.
 Carotuck, 74, 81.
 Carteret, Lord, 141.
 Casco Bay, 255.
 Chamberlain, Mr. John, appointed secretary to S. P. G., 21, 434.
 Chandler, Rev. Dr., 302, 315, 328, 339, 401, 411; account of, 150; remarks on the American war, 155; his publications, 157; retirement, 161; opinion on Whitfield's proceedings, 195.
 Chardin, Sir John, 21.
 Charles I., grants land in Chesapeak Bay to Lord Baltimore, 13.
 Charles II. erects Church at Boston, 14; allows stipends to colonial chaplains, 14; grants books to parishes, 14; charter for South Carolina, 47; grant of Jersey, 141.
 Charleston, 16, 47, 57, 95; African school, 61.
 Charlton, Rev. R., 273.
 Charter of S. P. G., 17, 416.
 Chauncy, Rev. Dr., 157, 187.
 Checkley, Rev. John, 225, 228; tried for printing discourse on episcopacy, 225.
 Cheducto, 355.
 Chesapeak Bay, 13.
 Chester, East and West, 36, 42, 46, 108, 111, 119, 133, 256, 301, 303, 304, 305.
 Chichester, 108.
 Chowan, 68, 71, 72, 78.
 Christian, Rev. N., 88.
 Church, The, in America, (see America.)
 Claremont, 258.
 Clarendon, Lord, 10, 47, 376.
 Clark, Rev. Mr., 61.
 ———, Rev. W., 245, 256, 361.
 Clayton, Rev. Mr., missionary in Philadelphia, 16, 107.
 Clinton, General, 305.
 Clubb, Rev. John, 115.
 Colburn, Mr. Samuel, gift to Brain-tree Church, 229.
 Cole, Mr., 252.
 Colebatch, Rev. Mr., 389.
 Colonial Dioceses and Bishops, 428.
 Colton, Rev. Mr., 218.
 Communion, Holy, contempt of in America, 73.
 Compton, Bishop, 14, 17, 19, 20.
 Compton, Little, 260.
 Concord, 108, 236.
 Conestego, 117.
 Connecticut, 41; religious state, 24, 165, 232, 279, 341; list of Churches in, 217; bishop of, 293, 296.

- Convention of clergy, 34, 208, 234, 292, 314.
 Cooke, Rev. Mr., 339.
 Coombe, Mr., 317.
 Cooper, Rev. Dr., 159, 302, 316, 328.
 Cooper River, 51.
 Copp, Rev. Jonathan, 100.
 Cornbury, Lord, 33, 35, 41, 45, 147, 265, 271, 276, 277; his character of the clergy, 46; instructions given to, 423.
 Cornwallis, 360, 364, 366.
 Cossit, Rev. Ranna, 252, 257.
 Cotton, Mr. John, 39.
 Coughlan, Rev. Lawrence, 352, 353.
 Cowper, Mr., 221.
 Craig, Rev. George, 315, 396.
 Crashawe, Rev. W., character of Rev. A. Whitaker, 6.
 Craven, Governor, 55.
 Crawford, Rev. Thomas, 118.
 Crompton, 292.
 Cromwell, Oliver, establishes the New England Society, 9; orders a general parochial collection, 9.
 Crosricks, 27.
 Croton, 292.
 Crown Point, 229.
 Culpepper, Lord, 24.
 Cumberland, 129, 239, 367.
 Cupples, Rev. Charles, 87.
 Curry, Rev. Mr., 315.
 Cushin, Mr., 40.
 Cushing, 28.
 Cutler, Rev. Dr. Timothy, 42, 174, 175, 178, 179, 186, 234, 387; his character, 186.
 Cutting, Rev. Leonard, 198, 339; account of, 308.
 Dalcho's Account of South Carolina, 63.
 Dale, Sir Thomas, expedition to Virginia, 6.
 Danforth, Rev. Samuel, 260.
 Dartmouth college, 251.
 Davenport, Mr., 221, 228.
 Davies, Mr., 210.
 Deane, Rev. Mr., 218.
 Dedham, 245, 256, 361.
 Delamotte, Mr., 93, 95.
 Delaware Bay, 300; River, 27, 107, 111, 121, 306.
 Delawarr, Earl, lands in Virginia, 5.
 Dellius, Mr., 282.
 Denis, St., 49.
 Derby, 192, 234, 236.
 Dibblee, Rev. E., 194, 199, 243, 292, 307, 398.
 Dissenters, system of making general collections, 224; effect of the Church on, 230; aid republicanism, 241; ordination of, 224.
 Dobbs, Governor, 86.
 Doddridge, Rev. Dr., 391.
 Dorr, Dr., 140.
 Doty, Rev. John, 322.
 Dover, 118, 123, 323, 324, 325, 326.
 Drage, Rev. T. F., 66.
 Duché, Mr., 317.
 Duckenfield, Mr., 75.
 Dudley, Colonel, 29; account of religion in America, 23.
 Duquesne, 129.
 Dutchess County, 296.
 Eagleson, Rev. J., 367.
 Ebenezer, 91.
 Eden, Governor, 68, 75.
 Edentown, 76, 80.
 Eliot, John, 10, 175, 262.
 Elizabeth-town, 117, 142, 144, 147, 148, 150, 151, 160.
 Ellington, Rev. Edward, 101.
 Ellis, Rev. William, 365.
 Endowments to the American church, 228.
 England, duty of, to its colonies, 1.
 ——— New, Cromwell's charter for erecting a corporation, 9; charter enlarged, 9; Nonconformists flee to, 10; Boyle's bequest to the Society, 11; first church erected, 14; religious state, 24, 28, 164; list of churches and clergy in, 217; Rev. John Week's account of the churches, 255.
 Erie, Lake, 289.
 Erlington, 239.
 Evans, Bishop, 20.
 ——— Mr. G., 55.
 ——— Mr. Nathan, 138.
 ——— Rev. Evan, 107, 277; his report on the state of the Church in Pennsylvania, 108.
 Evesham, 108.
 Ewer, Bishop, 241, 400.
 Fairfield, 187, 188, 195, 206, 216, 311, 313.
 Falkland, Lord, 347.
 Falmouth, 245, 251, 255, 319, 360, 366.
 Fanaticism, progress of, 135, 180.

- Fayerweather, Rev. Mr., 256.
 Fermeuse, 351.
 Ferrar, Rev. Nicholas, member of the Virginia Company, 7; his father's bequest to Virginia College, 7.
 Ferryland, 351.
 Fleetwood, Bishop, sermon by, 60, 70.
 Fletcher, Governor, 15, 275.
 Flushing, 297, 337.
 Forbes, General, 132.
 Fowler, Bishop, 20.
 Fox, George, founder of the Quakers, 13, 299.
 Franckfort, 42, 224, 230.
 Franklin, Governor, 357, 367, 372.
 Franklin, Dr., 197, 402, 407.
 ——— Michael, Esq., 364.
 Frederica, 101.
 Freehold, 22, 147.
 Freeman, Mr. Samuel, bequests to the Church, 179.
 Frink, Rev. Samuel, 101.
 Garden, Rev. Alexander, 56, 61, 95; his character, 62; his replies to Whitfield, 63.
 Garzia, Rev. Mr., 78.
 Gates, Sir Thomas, expedition commanded by him, 4.
 Georgetown, 224, 231, 255, 319.
 Georgia founded, 90; divided into parishes, 101, 104; its religious state, 104.
 Gibbs, Rev. Mr., 228.
 Gibson, Bishop, 60, 178, 223, 386.
 Giles, Rev. Mr., 125, 300, 325.
 Gillingham, Mr. Richard, 33.
 Glebes, allotment of, 227.
 Gloucester, 239.
 Glover, Colonel, 74.
 Gold Coast, 434.
 Goosecreek, 48, 59.
 Gordon, Rev. Patrick, account of, 29, 31.
 ——— Rev William, 72.
 Granville, 360, 362.
 Graves, Rev. John, 225, 243.
 ——— Rev. Matthew, 400.
 Greaton, 248.
 Green, Bishop, 179.
 Green Mountain, 239.
 Greenwich Hospital, 15.
 Guilford, 197, 232.
 Guinea Coast, mission to, 149, 434.
 Guy, Rev. William, 58, 60.
 Guysborough, 361.
 Hakluyt's Voyages, 2.
 Halifax, 332, 355; population of, 356, 370.
 Hall, Rev. Clement, account of, 79.
 Hampshire, New, religious state of, 24, 165; list of churches in, 217; glebe lands, 230.
 Hampstead, 32, 46, 96.
 Hampton, 39.
 Harbour Grace, 352, 353.
 Hariot, the Mathematician, 2.
 Harrison, Rev. James, 59.
 Harshorne, Richard, 23.
 Hart, Rev. Mr., 175.
 Hartford, 306.
 Harvard, John, 173.
 ——— College, 39, 43, 73, 173, 179, 186, 193, 219, 273.
 Hasell, Rev. Thomas, 49, 57.
 Hastings, Lady Elizabeth, 386.
 Hawks, Rev. Dr., 147.
 Hawley, Captain, 235.
 Heathcote, Colonel, 46, 278.
 Hebron, 197, 217, 294.
 Helena, St., 57.
 Helen's, St., 351.
 Hempsted, 295, 296, 299, 308.
 Henrico Church, Virginia, 6.
 Henrietta Maria, 13.
 Henry the Seventh's patent to Sebastian Cabot, 346.
 Highgate, 96.
 Hildreth, Mr., 273.
 Hind, Rev. Dr., Secretary to S. P. G., 434.
 Hobart, Bishop, 234.
 Hodges, Mr., treasurer of S.P.G., 21.
 Holly Mount, 148.
 Honyman, Rev. James, 165, 201, 208, 388.
 Hook, Mr. Sergeant, 21.
 Hopewell, 142, 145.
 Hopkinton, 216, 228.
 Horton, 360, 367.
 Howe, General, 304, 332, 335, 337—339.
 ——— Lord, 335, 338.
 Howley, Captain, 240.
 Hoyler, Thomas, 71.
 Hubbard, Rev. Bela, 198, 199, 215, 242.
 Hudson River, 41, 239, 274, 282, 332.
 Hudson, Henry, discoveries by, 274.
 Humphreys, Rev. Dr., Secretary to S. P. G., 434.
 Hunt, Rev. Robert, sails to America, 3, 375.

- Hunter, Governor, 145, 273, 283.
 Hunter, Fort, 284, 290, 320, 321, 339.
 Huntingdon, 127, 295, 296.
 Hurd, Mr., 251.
 Huron, Lake, 289.
 Hyde, Lord Chancellor, 9.
 Hyde, 85.
- Indian war, 138.
 Indians in Nova Scotia, 361.
 ———, instruction and conversion of, 126, 131, 159, 168, 197, 281, 283, 287, 320; early missions to, 259; obstacles to conversion, 263, 266; memorials to government, 264; Sachems' embassy to England, 266; character of, 268; mission resigned, 269; school established, 272; insurrection of, 272, 285.
- Ingham, Mr., 93.
 Inglis, Bishop, 159, 314; appointed missionary, 323; remarks on the want of bishops, 326; remarks on the American war, 328; appointed to New York, 341; retires to Nova Scotia, 344; consecrated bishop of Nova Scotia, 411.
 Inman, Mr., 256.
 Iroquois Indians, 265.
- Jackson, Rev. Mr., 347.
 Jamaica, Long Island, 46, 297—299.
 James I., charters granted by, 3, 347.
 James Town, destruction and rebuilding of the town, 4; town abandoned, 5.
 Jarvis, Mr., 198, 293.
 ——— Rev. Dr., 234, 258.
- Jau, Dr. Le, 49; character of the Indians and Negroes, 49.
 Jenkyns, Sir Leolyne, fellowships at Oxford for colonial clergymen, 11.
 Jenney, Rev. Dr., 295, 314.
 Jersey, New (or East and West), 41; religious state of, 22—24, 26; settlement of, 141; origin of its name, 141.
 Jesuits, efforts to convert the Indians, 264.
 John's, St., 321, 346, 350, 352, 361.
 Johnson, Sir John, 322.
 ——— Rev. Dr. Samuel, 42, 59, 169, 174, 175, 178, 187, 189, 194, 233, 386; account of his mission, 195; his publications, 196; his degrees, 196; his studies, 197; elected president of York College, 198; returns to his mission, 198; death and character, 199; his Preface to Beach's Sermon, 208; Convention Sermon, 292.
 Johnson, Sir William, 159, 290, 320, 327; gift for an episcopate, 293.
 Johnstone, Rev. Gideon, 53.
 Johnstown, 339.
 Jones, Major General, 371.
 ——— Rev. Henry, 349.
 ——— Rev. Lewis, 57.
- Keith, Governor, 23, 120, 142.
 ——— Rev. George, account of, 25, 36; first mission, 28; narrative of his journey, &c., 38, 41, 44.
 Kennebec, 231, 255.
 Kennett, Bishop, 20.
 Kent, 120, 324.
 Kilgour, Bishop, 407.
 Killpatrick, Rev. Robert, 348, 350.
 King, Rev. James, 169.
 Kingsbridge, 304.
 King's College, (see New York.)
 King's Province, 24.
- Lamson, Rev. Mr. 199.
 Lancaster, 133, 137, 323.
 Lanesborough, 214, 235.
 Langman, Rev. Edward, 351.
 Laud, Archbishop, 336.
 Lawrence, St., 239.
 ——— Lieut.-Governor, 372.
 Leaming, Rev. Jeremiah, 194, 199, 306, 317, 396, 404.
 Lewes, 121, 317.
 Lewistown, 120.
 Lichfield, 210, 224.
 Lillingston, Rev. John, 143.
 Lin, 38.
 Lincoln, 230.
 Livingston, Mr., 160, 241.
 Livingstone, Robert, Esq., 264.
 Llandaff, Bishop of, 160.
 Lloyd, Thomas, 26, 194.
 Locke, John, 47.
 London, New, 135, 137, 195, 225, 248, 294.
 Long Island, 41, 143, 304, 331, 332, 341, 404; religious state, 28, 32.
 Louisiana, 289.
 Lovick, Colonel, 82.
 Lowth, Bishop, 400.
 Ludlam, Rev. Mr., 51; legacy to S. P. G., 51.

- Lunenburg, 356, 358, 368.
 Lyons, Rev. Mr., 228.
 Macclenaghan, Rev. Mr., 224.
 Macgilchrist, Rev. Mr., 226, 256, 257.
 Mackean, Rev. John, 163.
 Mackintosh, Sir James, eulogy of Bishop Berkeley, 171.
 Macsparran, Rev. J., 167; his opinion on Whitfield, 222; remarks on glebe allotments, 227.
 Magaw, Rev. Mr., 315.
 Maherin, 75.
 Mahew, Mr. E., 260.
 Maidenhead, 108.
 Maillard, Rev. Mr., 360.
 Maine, Province, religious state, 24.
 Manchester, 235.
 Manning, Rev. Mr., 407.
 Mansfield, Rev. Dr. Richard, 194; his character, 234; account of his visitations, 235; remarks on the American war, 253; escapes from the rebels, 254.
 Marblehead, 143, 219, 245, 246, 256, 257.
 Marlborough, 136, 137.
 Marsden, Rev. Mr., 54.
 Marshall, Rev. Samuel, Missionary at Charlestown, 16, 48.
 Marshcreek, 128.
 Marshfield, 256.
 Martha's Vineyard, 11, 260.
 Martinico, 223.
 Martyn, Rev. Charles, 58.
 Mary, St., Cape, 347.
 Maryland, 41, 325, 332, 385; colonized, 13; Burke's account of the clergy, 13; divided into parishes, 15; religious state, 24.
 Massachusetts, 41, 230; religious state of, 24, 165; list of Churches in, 217; Bishop of, 219.
 Mather, Rev. Increase, 43, 168, 259.
 ——— Rev. Cotton, 259.
 Maule, Rev. Robert, account of, 51; his bequest to S. P. G., 53.
 Mayhew, Rev. Dr., 392.
 Melmoth, Mr., appointed treasurer of S. P. G., 21.
 Merioneth, 109.
 Merrett, Mr. John, his character, 233.
 Merry, Rev. Mr., 51.
 Methodism, effects of, 220, 223.
 Michigan, Lake, 289.
 Middleton, 22, 197, 218, 258, 293.
 Milford, 206, 224.
 Millard, Mr. Samuel, 43.
 Miller, Rev. F., 220.
 ——— Fort, 240.
 Mills, Mr., 190.
 Miln, Rev. John, 283.
 Mispillion, 325.
 Missionaries, applications to S. P. G., for, 43; difficulty of visitations, 67, 133, 201, 235, 364; evil of non-settlement, 119, 120, 237, 239; their usefulness, 46, 121, 160, 171, 177, 201, 204, 208, 226, 231; persecution of, 139, 161, 163, 177, 192, 196, 205, 280, 308; troubles occasioned by the American war, 245, 246, 248, 249, 251, 280, 302—306, 314, 318, 321, 328; collection for, 343; testimony to their loyalty, 344; parochial returns, 85, 224; privations of, 67, 70, 71, 79, 83, 88, 102, 133, 139, 160, 166, 187, 193, 225, 230; qualifications of, 28, 44; want of in America, 44, 66, 70, 81, 120, 124; ecclesiastical discipline, 62; (see also S. P. G., and Bishops.)
 Mississippi, 289.
 Mohawk Indians, 266, 283, 286, 290, 320, 327.
 Moir, Rev. James, 78, 81.
 Monmouth, 149, 284.
 Montgomery, 108, 110.
 Montreal, 322.
 Moor, Rev. T., account of, 265, 271, 281, 377.
 Moore, Archbishop, 404.
 Moreau, Rev. M., 356.
 Morey, Mr., 251.
 Morice, Rev. Dr., Secretary to S.P.G., 434.
 Morris, Colonel, memorial to S.P.G., 22, 29.
 ——— Rev. W., 100.
 Mosquito country, 350, 433.
 Muirson, Rev. George, 143; his recommendation, 277; account of his mission, 278.
 Murray, Rev. Alexander, 236, 315; proposed as Bishop of Virginia, 376.
 Nantucket, 11.
 Narraganset, 24, 167, 227.
 Neau, Mr. Elias, 263, 270; appointed catechist to the negroes, 270; his school, 272,

- Negroes, Missions to, 270.
 Neill, Rev. Hugh, 123, 323.
 Nelson, Robert, 21.
 Netherlands, New, 274.
 Neuse River, 70, 78.
 Newark, 160, 162.
 Newburgh, 339.
 Newbury, 219, 255.
 Newcastle, 27, 110, 118.
 Newfoundland, settlement and state of, 346; ecclesiastical returns, 351.
 Newhaven, 168, 188, 194, 208, 232, 234, 239, 242.
 Newman, Rev. Thomas, account of his labours, 75.
 Newport, 137, 165, 167, 172, 244, 256, 367.
 Newton, Rev. Mr., 226.
 Newtown, or Newton, 187, 195, 201, 202, 207, 213, 333.
 Niagara, 288, 289.
 Nichols, Rev. Henry, 12, 108, 111, 119.
 Nicholson, Governor, 21, 24, 36, 142, 166, 379; his character, 142.
 Nobletown, 214.
 Nonconformists go to New England, 10.
 Northcastle, 151, 292.
 Norwalk, 197, 219, 246, 317.
 Norwich, 238.
 Nova Scotia, clergy in, 159; ceded to England, 354; settlers sent to, 354; endowments for, 355, 425; Bishop's account of the refugees, 373; consecration of Bishop Inglis, 411; Government's proposal for endowments, 425.
 Odell, Rev. Mr., 341.
 Ogilvie, Rev. John, 286—291.
 Ogleshorpe, General, 90, 92.
 Ohio, 128, 129, 289.
 Okpaak, 361.
 Oneida Indians, 266, 288.
 ——— Lake, 290.
 Orem, Rev. James, 177.
 Oswego, 290.
 Ottolenghi, Mr., 290.
 Outharbours, 351.
 Oxford, 111, 115, 123, 126, 315, 317, 323.
 Oyster Bay, 28, 42, 296.
 Palmer, Rev. Solomon, 224, 230.
 Pamplico, 67.
 Paplin, Rev. Mr., 252.
 Paquimans, (see Pequimans.)
 Parker, Rev. Mr., 257.
 Pasquotank, 68, 73, 74, 80.
 Paul's, St., 84.
 Peach hills, 292.
 Peaseley, Rev. Mr., 350.
 Penn, William, Pennsylvania granted to, 13.
 Pennsborough, 128.
 Pennsylvania, colonized, 13; religious state, 23, 24, 26, 42, 108, 120; first settlement, 107; Bishop of, 410.
 Pequea, 134, 137.
 Pequimans, 68, 72, 80.
 Perlican, 349, 353.
 Peters, Colonel John, 251.
 ——— Rev. Hugh, 241.
 ——— Rev. Samuel, 251; his missionary tour, 239.
 Petrie, Bishop, 407.
 Petty Harbour, 350.
 Philadelphia College, 197; Congress, 304; religious state, 16, 26, 32, 225, 331, 385.
 Philip's, St., 87.
 Philipsburg, 307.
 Pictou, 365.
 Pierson, Mr. John, 188.
 Pigot, Rev. George, 167.
 Piscataway, 22, 28, 41, 147, 163.
 Placentia, 348, 351, 353.
 Plant, Mr., 219.
 Plymouth, 226.
 Port Royal, 360.
 Porter, Rev. Mr., 252.
 Portsmouth, 249, 255, 319.
 Pownall, 231, 235, 255, 319.
 Presbyterian orders, 176.
 Preston, Rev. Mr., 161.
 Price, Rev. Roger, 216, 228.
 Prince Edward Island, 367.
 Prince, Mr., 193.
 Printz, Governor, 107.
 Providence, Plantation, 24, 167, 225, 228, 233.
 Provoost, Bishop, consecrated, 410.
 Punderson, Rev. E., 231.
 Puritans, settlement in Massachusetts, 8.
 Quakers, 23, 109; colonize Pennsylvania, 13; increase of, 16; Keith's account of in America, 26, 31; opposition to the Church, 67, 69, 72, 80, 298; Seabury's account of, 298.

- Quaque, Rev. Philip, 433.
 Quarantine Island, 365.
 Quebec, Bishop of, 355, 393.
 ——— captured, 291.
 Quincy, Rev. Samuel, 92.

 Radnor, 108, 115.
 Rainsford, Rev. Giles, account of, 71.
 Raleigh, Sir Walter, gift by, 2.
 Reading, 164, 203, 205—207, 213, 236.
 Reading, Rev. Philip, 310, 314.
 Reed, Rev. Mr., 88.
 Refugees in America, 371.
 Reneuse, 351.
 Rhode Island, 41, 143; churches built at, 15; religious state, 24, 28, 32, 164, 166, 171.
 Rice, Rev. Jacob, 348.
 Ridgefield, 219.
 Ripton, 187, 190, 226, 292.
 Rivington, Mr., 303.
 Robinson, Bishop, 177, 379.
 Roche, Rev. P. de la, account of, 358.
 Rochelle, New, 282.
 Rogers, Rev. Jonathan, 169, 221.
 Romanists in Canada, 289.
 Ronoke, 76.
 Ross, Rev. George, 110, 119.
 Rowan, 88.
 Royal Letters, for Virginia College, 7; in behalf of S. P. G., 430.
 Rush, Dr., 407.
 Rye, 46, 277, 279, 281, 297, 306.

 Salem, 220, 226, 256, 366.
 Salisbury, 39, 88.
 Saltzburg, 91.
 Sandeman, Mr., 210.
 Sandwich, 28.
 Savannah, 90, 94, 100; ecclesiastical returns, 105.
 Saybrook, 175.
 Sayre, Rev. James, 306.
 ——— Rev. John, state of his mission from the American war, 311.
 Schenectady, 267, 283, 293, 321, 322.
 Schools, want of in America, 85.
 Scituate, 226, 228, 245, 250, 256.
 Scovil, Rev. James, 254, 398.
 Scriblerus Club, 172.
 Seabury, Rev. Samuel, 151, 163, 195, 294.
 Seabury, Bishop, 198, 295, 297, 341, 404.
 Secker, Archbishop, 58, 389, 394.
 Second River, 162.

 Sects in America, variety of, 124, 133, 136, 148, 152, 166, 179, 190, 196, 204, 206, 223, 279, 295.
 Sentinel, the, publication of, 157.
 Serjeant, Rev. Mr., 245, 256.
 Sharon, 240, 307.
 Sharp, Archbishop, 379.
 Sharp, Granville, remarks on episcopacy, 402.
 Sharpe, Mr., 142.
 Sheerman's Valley, 128.
 Shelburne, Settlement of, 373.
 Shepherd, Mr., 39.
 Sherlock, Bishop, 233, 389.
 Shrewsbury, 22, 27, 160.
 Shippensburgh, 128.
 Simsbury, (see Symsbury.)
 Skinner, Bishop, 405, 407.
 Slavery in America, 50, 73.
 Smaldridge, Rev. Dr., 379.
 Smith, Bishop, 61.
 ——— Rev. Dr., 126, 314; sermon by, 317.
 ——— Rev. Mr., Bahamas, 433.
 Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, schools in Georgia, 91.
 Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, (see Missionaries;) proposed by Dr. Bray, 16; charter granted, 17; object of, 18; meetings, 20, 21, 44; testimonials required from candidates, 45; character of its missionaries, 46; aid to Carolina clergy, 55; its services in North America, 63; books distributed by, 110, 122, 174, 294, 349, 357; request a bishop for America, 144, 378, 380; propose to send out deacons, 145; missions withdrawn from the United States, 342; memorials to Queen Anne and George I., 380; copy of the Charter, 416; subscription roll, 422; instructions to Missionaries, 424; short account of, 429; Royal Letters granted to, 430; Secretaries of, 434.
 Somers' Islands, (see Bermuda.)
 Somers', Sir George, expedition commanded by, 4.
 Spotswood, 163.
 Spry, Captain, 360.
 Stamford, 242, 247.
 Standish, Rev. Mr., 60.
 Stanhope, Rev. Dr., 21, 177, 379.
 Staten Island, 41, 142, 143, 273, 304, 331, 335.
 Stewart, Rev. Alex., 85.

- Stiles, Rev. Dr., 187.
 Stratford, 100, 143, 168, 178, 186, 187, 189, 190, 195, 197, 278, 386.
 Stoupe, Rev. Mr., 282.
 Stuart, Rev. John, 320, 339.
 Sturgeon, Mr., 194.
 Summer, Rev. Mr., 252.
 Sunderland, 239.
 Superior, Lake, 289.
 Superstitious uses, bill for alienating lands given for, 15.
 Susquehanna, 237.
 Sussex, 118, 120, 121.
 Swift, Dean, remarks on Dean Berkeley's plan of a college in Bermuda, 169; proposed as bishop for Virginia, 379.
 Symsbury, 215, 228, 306.
- Talbot, Rev. John, 29, 30, 32, 39, 42, 142; account of his missionary tour, and state of the Churches, 33, 35; his exertions to obtain a bishop, 144, 376, 383; accused of Jacobitism, 145; returns to England, 146; consecrated, 146, 386, 407; his character, 147.
 ——— Mr. St. George, his services and bequests, 292.
 Tatmagouch, 364.
 Taunton, 228.
 Taylor, W. Esq. Secretary to S. P. C., 434.
 Tenison, Archbishop, 17, 19, 20; legacy for American bishops, 146, 383, 394.
 Tennent, Gilbert, 182, 220.
 Terrick, Bishop, 395.
 Thatcher, Mr., 187.
 Thomas, Rev. Samuel, 48.
 ——— Rev. John, 109.
 ——— St., 49, 78.
 Thompson, Rev. E., 226, 245; character of, 250.
 ——— Rev. Thomas, missionary in Monmouth, 149; appointed to Guinea Coast, 149.
 ——— Rev. William, 169.
 Tingley, Rev. Samuel, 315, 317.
 Tithes instituted in Virginia, 8.
 Toleration Act, 38.
 Torry, Mr. Josiah, 260.
 Townsend, Rev. Mr., 306.
 Trenton, 150.
 Trinity Bay, 348, 350.
 Tryon, Governor, 254, 313, 318.
 Tutty, Rev. William, 355, 360.
- Tyler, Rev. John, account of his mission, 238.
- Upland, 108.
 Urmston, Rev. John, account of, 67.
 Usher, Rev. James, 218.
- Vaughan, Mr., 117.
 ——— Rev. Edward, account of, 148; bequest to S. P. G., 148.
 Vesey, Rev. Mr., 32, 272, 275, 286.
 Vermont, 165.
 Viets, Rev. Roger, 214, 307.
 Vincent, Rev. R., 357.
 Virginia, 41, 332.
 ——— Company, 3; legislature's provision for the clergy, 8; emigration to, 8; college erected, 8; religious state, 24, 65.
 ——— Bishop of, 81, 376.
- Waccamaw, 88.
 Walker, Henderson, 67.
 ——— Rev. Nehemiah, 259.
 Wallingford, 197, 399.
 Walpole, Sir Robert, 154, 383; disposes of the Bermuda college fund, 170.
 Walter, Rev. Mr., 250, 339.
 Warwick, 218, 226.
 Washington, General, 332.
 Waterbury, 228.
 Watkinson, Mr. Paul, bequest for Burlington church, 149.
 Weeks, Rev. J. W., 245, 246, 255; account of churches in New England, 255.
 Welton, Rev. Dr., consecrated Bishop, 146, 386, 387, 407.
 Wentworth, Governor, 229, 371.
 Wesley, Rev. John, his strict observances, 91; appointed a missionary in Georgia, 92; adherence to the rubric and discipline of the Church, 94; his expenses, 95; appeal to the Commissary, 95; service in different languages and Sunday occupation, 97; reasons for returning to England, 97; going back to America, 221.
 ——— Rev. Charles, 221.
 West, Commodore Temple, 349.
 Westhaven, 174, 193.
 Wetmore, Rev. J., 175, 297.
 Weyman, Rev. Robert, 117.
 Weymouth, Lord, 64.
 Wheeler, Sir George, 21.

- Wheelock, Rev. Dr., 251.
 Wheuf, Mrs., 27.
 Whitaker, Rev. Dr. William, 6.
 ——— Rev. Alexander, chaplain
 at Henrico, 6; his character, 6; re-
 marks on the apathy of England, 7.
 White, Bishop, consecrated, 410.
 Whiteclay Creek, 135, 137.
 Whitmarsh, 117, 123.
 Whitfield, Rev. George, cited and
 suspended, 62; proceeds to Georgia,
 98; erects an orphan-house, 99;
 superintended by Mr. Ellington,
 103; his character, 103, 122; visits
 Lewes, 122, 124; disorders pro-
 duced by his preaching, 181, 184,
 195, 220, 295, 299; admirer of,
 190.
 Whitlass Bay, 352.
 Whittelsey, Rev. Mr., 175.
 Whole Duty of Man, the, 63.
 Wicacon, 75.
 William and Mary College, charter
 to, 8.
 William III., endows church at Bos-
 ton, 14; charter to Society for the
 Propagation of the Gospel, 17, 416.
 William IV., gift to Placentia Church,
 353.
 Williams, Bishop, 20.
 Williamsburg, 381.
 Williamson, Rev. Atkin, 48.
 Williamstown, 235.
 Willis, Dean, sermon before S.P.G.,
 19.
 ——— Rev. Mr., 252.
 Willoughby, Lord, 392.
 Wilson, Rev. Mr., 125, 325.
 Windsor, 273, 339, 348, 364, 366;
 College founded, 369.
 Winslow, Rev. Edward, 198, 245,
 250.
 Wiswall, Rev. Mr., 245, 251.
 Witchcraft in America, 49.
 Wolfe, General, 291.
 Wood, Rev. T., 360.
 Woodbridge, 27, 152.
 Woodbury, 240.
 Woodside, 148.
 Wyndham, 319.
 Yale College, 150, 168, 174, 186,
 188, 201, 286; account of students
 at, 175.
 Yeomansee (or Yammonsee) Indians,
 20, 48, 55.
 Yonkers, 276.
 York, New, religious state, 24, 27,
 32, 123, 272, 273, 275, 327; dis-
 covery of and settlement, 274; cap-
 tured by the English, 275; its
 name and extent, 275; Congress,
 304; Bishop of, 410; King's Col-
 lege, 198, 308.
 Zouberbugler, Rev. Mr., 100.

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